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ARCHIVES

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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# **MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY**

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## NOM DE DIEU !

By LEO SPITZER

On connaît le type de juron populaire en français où le nom de Dieu est répété à plusieurs reprises: la forme la plus simple en est celle que j'ai mise au titre, mais on sait qu'elle peut être allongée ad libitum, p. ex. doublée en *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu* (et continuée . . . de *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu*), ou variée d'une façon pittoresque et poussée jusqu'à des dimensions grotesques comme dans Courteline (*Théâtre*, I, 110): *cré bon Dieu de bonsoir de bon Dieu de courtelieu de bon Dieu de sacré nom de Dieu du tonnerre de Dieu de bon Dieu!*, phrase<sup>1</sup> qui est comme un pot-pourri des motifs usuels

<sup>1</sup> La phrase doit se continuer à l'infini, puisque Courteline ajoute l'indication scénique "La voix se perd" [le personnage quitte la scène]. On sait que, particulièrement dans les pays méridionaux, plus l'imprécation est longue, plus elle est effective. La même répétition du mot-motif se trouve, dans la même pièce, dans le discours du client d'un limonadier qui veut exprimer l'idée que le patron s'est conduit avec lui "comme un cochon": "... vous vous êtes conduit comme un cochon avec votre plus ancien client. Et encore . . . comme un cochon! . . . c'est comme deux cochons que je devrais dire! [cf. supra *double dieu!*] . . . comme trois cochons! . . . comme quatre cochons! . . . comme cinq cochons! . . . comme . . ." Le Président: "Ca va durer longtemps, ce défilé de cochons?" Cf. la multiplication de *foutre* et *bougre* dans les phrases du *Père Duchêne* (cf. l'exemple cité par Brunot, *Hist. d. l. langue fr.*, X, 228, note 9).

Un bon exemple de la persévérance lexicale est offert par une nouvelle publiée dans le *New Yorker* du 23 janvier 1943, p. 14, où un garçon de bar insulte les clients "élégants" d'une *slumming party*: "And what do you *quaint* people think you'd like to have? Would you care for a *quaint* punch in the *quaint* teeth on you? What is this *quaint* business anyway . . .?" (le mot *quaint* est répété encore trois fois).

C'est de la même façon que la persévérance lexicale s'introduit dans les juréments: le général Marvin dans *A Bell for Adano* de John Hershey est censé s'exprimer ainsi: "Goddam right, stop the goddam carts. Lousy Italians trying to hold up the whole goddam invasion. They better carry out the goddam order." Ainsi chaque mot-clé de la phrase est muni du mot-cliché qui ajoute une note comminatoire, et nous arrivons à un système linguistique connu dans les langues bantou—celui des "reminders," selon le terme de Jespersen. Mais l'origine de ces répétitions ne doit pas être cherchée exclusivement dans le désir du jureur d'enfreindre aussi souvent que possible l'interdiction religieuse. La lettre célèbre que Pete Muggins envoya à Lincoln (*v. Mencken, Dict. of Quotations, s. v. invective*), plus proche des origines, indique d'autres motifs: "God damn your god damned old hellfired god damned soul god damn you / and god damn your god damned family's god damned hellfired god damned soul to hell and damnation god damn them / and god damn your god damned friends to hell." On remarquera (1) le parallélisme hiératique de ces trois imprécations successives, parallélisme trahissant le sérieux d'un rituel où les répétitions sont de mise, (2) le croisement de deux types d'expression: l'un présentant l'imprécation comme devant s'accomplir (*god damn your soul to hell!*), l'autre comme déjà accomplie (*god damn hellfired soul*)—l'impatience de l'imprécateur lui fait télescoper deux attitudes, lui fait anticiper le résultat de son imprécation au moment où il la prononce.

dans des jurons (*bon soir de bon soir*, et *vingt dieu!* pour *saint Dieu* [ou *vingt diables?*], euphémismes; *tonnerre de Dieu!* cacophémisme). Il est évident que la répétition indéfinie du nom de Dieu procure du soulagement à l'individu parlant, qui, dans son émotion se trouvant manquer de mots suffisants pour exprimer son état affectif, mais désirant pourtant continuer à parler, à décharger le trop-plein de son âme, tombe dans le bafouillage. Il "persévère" (comme disent les psychologues) à la manière de l'ivrogne qui, tout en désirant avancer, piétine sur place, tourne autour de lui-même et exécute sans se lasser les mêmes gestes gratuits. Mais la "persévération" est-elle la source historique originaire de ce type de juron?

M. Alf Lombard, qui est le dernier à avoir traité ce phénomène dans son article "Li fel d'anemis," "ce fripon de valet" (*Studier i modern språkvetenskap*, XI [1931], 174), et à qui j'ai emprunté le passage de Courteline, l'explique précisément par le type *ce fripon de valet*: en se basant sur des expressions comme *un nom de Dieu de gaillard*, *ces sacré nom de Prussiens*, *cette bon sang de Calliope*, qui selon M. Lombard ont succédé à *ce diable (bougre) d'homme*, *cette diable de femme*, où *diable (bougre)* est à la fois un substantif, capable de servir de premier terme dans le type *ce fripon de valet*, et une interjection (*diable!*) ; il explique:

Un juron peut venir prendre la place non seulement du premier terme, mais aussi, quelquefois, du second . . . à la place du *qualifiant* descriptif [*fripon, diable*, etc.] est venu se mettre un mot marquant d'une façon générale et toute primitive l'état d'âme du parlant; puis, en second lieu, on a renoncé aussi à préciser le caractère du *qualifié* (individu, chose, situation, événement . . .), lui substituant également une exclamation affective plus ou moins forte. Les deux termes étant ainsi de même nature, la série a pu s'étendre à discrétion.

En note M. Lombard ajoute:

Le *de* du type *bon sang de bon sang* (*DE bon sang . . . !*) n'est guère facile à expliquer. L'analyse donnée ici ne vaut qu'à titre d'hypothèse. Il pourrait s'agir aussi du même *de* que dans *nom de Dieu* (*nom d'un chien, d'une pipe*, etc.), *tonnerre de Dieu* (donc d'un *de* d'origine possessive), lequel aurait été répété machinalement: *nom de Dieu DE nom de Dieu*, puis de là *bon sang de bon sang*, etc.

On voit que M. Lombard ne se sent pas sûr, puisqu'il offre deux explications. Et, évidemment, contre la première hypothèse (*un nom de Dieu de gaillard > nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu!*), on doit objecter l'hétérogénéité des deux types dont le premier est censé avoir

Toute irrationnelle que soit ce chevauchement de deux attitudes, les expressions en sont moulées sur une solide charpente idéologique, sur des notions théologiques très précises. Les répétitions ont encore leur raison d'être en dehors du désir de "répéter machinalement." C'est que l'imprécation est encore un fait de pensée vivante, non pas un procédé plus ou moins verbalisé et grammaticalisé.

agi sur le second<sup>2</sup>: un *nom de Dieu de gaillard* s'explique, comme l'indique M. Lombard lui-même, par l'interpolation d'un juron affectif dans le groupe de mots normal: un *gaillard* > un [*nom de Dieu de!*] *gaillard* (Bauche appelle *bon dieu de*, *nom de Dieu de* des "expressions adjectives," p. ex. *avec ces bon Dieu de fumelles*, *cette espèce de nom de Dieu de tourte*, où *espèce de* est aussi une interpolation),—alors qu'il n'y a aucune interpolation, qu'il n'y a que le juron dans *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu!* (le point d'exclamation renversé, à l'espagnole, me sert pour indiquer la place exacte de l' "entrée en scène" du juron): ce dernier juron n'a jamais été modelé sur un *\*ce diable de Dieu!* comme l'a été un *nom de Dieu de gaillard* sur un *diable de gaillard* (*\*diable de Dieu!* serait l'équivalent exact de *ce fripon de valet*)—tout simplement parce que tout chrétien français (je ne dis pas italien, cf. *porca Madonna*, ou anglais, cf. *sucking Christ*, etc.), même s'il jure, se garderait de maudire Dieu (en disant *nom de Dieu . . .*, il appelle, au contraire, son Dieu en aide!); le sacrilège consiste seulement dans le fait d'appeler le nom de Dieu en vain, de "jurer Dieu en vain," comme dit le Décalogue—quand une vaine ou banale émotion trop humaine met l'âme en ébullition.

La seconde hypothèse de M. Lombard (*nom de Dieu* [= *nomen Dei*] > *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu*, avec répétition machinale du *de* possessif) se heurte au second *de*: s'il y a automatisme, pourquoi ne trouve-t-on pas plus fréquemment *\*nom de Dieu de Dieu (de Dieu)*? (on trouve, il est vrai, p. ex. en Berry *nom de Dieu de bon Dieu*): pourquoi est-ce que le groupe *nom de Dieu* est répété et introduit par un *de*, à la façon d'un binôme: *nom de Dieu + de + nom de Dieu*? Et même si on voulait accepter une sorte de *de*-*"tampon"* (comme dans *"c'est une honte de mentir"*; *"il y a trente de tués,"* etc.), est-ce que le binôme en soi ne devrait pas être expliqué?

Dans mon compte-rendu du travail de M. Lombard (*Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil.* [1933], col. 175), j'expliquais le tour, comme déjà dans *Aufsätze zur romanischen Syntax*, p. 201 (à la suite de Zöckler, *"Beteuerungsformen,"* p. 16), par une combinaison des deux motifs de l'euphémisme et de l'automatisme: un désir de voiler le mot *Dieu* (cf. *vertugué*, *vertuguienne*, *vertugoi*, *parbleu*, *corbleu*, etc.) et un désir de répéter le même mot se combi-

<sup>2</sup> Dans *ce fripon de valet*, *ce nom de Dieu de gaillard* il y a une sorte de "synthèse violente" présentée comme achevée ("ce valet est un fripon," "ce gaillard est un nom de Dieu"), c'est l'inversion de l'attribut ("fripon," "nom de Dieu") qui accomplit cet effet (cf. St. Lyer, *ZRPh*, LVIII, 348)—alors que *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu* ne présente pas de synthèse, puisque c'est une phrase à un seul membre, et n'a pas le caractère "achevé," puisque le juron peut continuer indéfiniment (comme dans l'exemple de Courteline cité au commencement de cet article).

neraient pour donner *nom de—nom*<sup>3</sup>; de même (*bon*) *sang de (bon) Dieu* > *bon sang de bon sang*, avec la prévalence de l'euphémique *bon* (de la "Begütigung," du ton aimable et innocent—hypocrite!). Je comparais le roumain *vai de mine și de mine* "las de moi et de moi," qui a remplacé un *vai de el și de mine* "las de lui et de moi." Pourtant, dans (*sacré*) *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu* le mot *Dieu* apparaît à deux reprises en toutes lettres, sans voile euphémique—et Damourette-Pichon<sup>4</sup> nous avertissent que *nom de Dieu* est devenu

<sup>3</sup> Cf. l'établissement de la rime euphémique dans l'anglais américain *son of a gun* voilant *son of a b—* (j'ai entendu raconter une anecdote historique censée expliquer la locution, à savoir qu'on tirait des coups de canon pour hâter l'accouchement des femmes accompagnant les marins sur les vaisseaux de guerre d'antan—mais elle me semble inventée après coup), et l'assonance en *-re* dans le juron célèbre du *Père Ubu*: *bougre de merdre, merdre de bougre* (v. plus loin, note 19). D'ailleurs il n'est pas sûr que *nom de Dieu* soit inoffensif: il y a toujours des milieux français qui l'excluent de la société polie, et il n'est pas étonnant que le cardinal dans *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, de Elliott Paul, entendant un ouvrier travaillant à la cathédrale employer le juron *nom de Dieu*, trouve le mot de Cambronne préférable; cet ecclésiastique opte plutôt pour la scatologie que pour la profanation religieuse.

<sup>4</sup> Au contraire de Damourette-Pichon, Bauche trouve que *mon Dieu!* est une expression faible, *nom de Dieu!* un jurement relativement plus violent, et il explique cette opposition ainsi: *sacré* est sous-entendu dans ce dernier et *sacré* est égal à maudit (cf. Damourette-Pichon, §516, qui statue que *sacré* préposé a hérité du sens "maudit" du lat. *sacer*, à l'exception de locutions religieuses toutes faites comme *Sacré-Coeur*, tandis que *sacré* postposé a hérité du sens "saint" du lat. *sacer*—pourtant *sacré souvenir* dans un sens solennel à la fin de *Tousses d'Olympio* et *délire farouche du sacré fardeau* nous dans *L'Après-midi d'un Foune* contredisent cette règle, formulée d'une façon trop absolue). Y a-t-il une forme \**sacre* (avec l'accent sur la première syllabe) en français? Je le crois. Car c'est précisément par un euphémisme de ce \**sacre* (dérivé du lat. *sacrum*) que nous pourrions expliquer un mot qui a jusqu'ici résisté à l'explication étymologique: l'anc. fr. *natre* "avare, malicieux, méchant, bizarre" (Godefroy, s.v. *nastre*). Le REW (n° 9331) rejette l'opinion de E. Langlois, ZRPh, XXXI, 220, qui avait voulu expliquer le mot par une extraction de *vilain nastre*, en remarquant que le *-d-* du poitevin *nadre* et les rimes avec *-atre*, non *-astre*, en anc. fr. (p. ex. avec *idolatre*, *quatre*, *-batre*) témoignent contre le suffix *-astre*, et c'est aussi l'opinion de Sainéan. Les sources indigènes, p. 199, qui, lui, s'abstient de toute étymologie. Or, le fait qui a suggéré à Langlois son explication, à savoir l'observation juste que *natre* suit régulièrement en anc. fr. des adjectifs comme *vil(ain)*, *fou*, *sot*, nous permet de prendre un chemin différent: *vilain*, *fou*, *sot* *natre* pourraient signifier quelque chose comme "vilain fiéffé," "archi-sot," cf. ital. *baron fottuto* (*cornuto*). C'est à peu près ce sens qui nous expliquera le gascon *natre* "comme nature; se dit d'une ressemblance, d'un portrait" (*lou moulié èro lou capèrè natre* "le meunier était le portrait exact du curé," Lespy), de là les sens donnés par Mistral et Rohlf's: "pur, sans mélange, sec, dur." Ces sens nous rappellent à leur tour l'article sur le centr. *nacré* chez Jaubert: "pris en bonne part ou en mauvaise;—dans le sens: tout craché, fini, fiéffé. Fripon *nacré*; c'est son père tout *nacré*; c.-à-d. il ressemble parfaitement à son père" et celui de Verrier-Onillon sur l'angevin *nacre* "vilainement égoïste, pas serviable" (*il est bê trop nacre pour vous donner la main* [=vous aider]). Ce dernier dictionnaire enregistre sous le même en-tête aussi le *nacré* de Jaubert, ainsi qu'un verbe *nâcrer* "jurer, invectiver" (cf. aussi *nâcré!* "Interjection. Juron de colère," Jaubert), la forme du Haut-Maine *naigre* "hargneux, rude"—et notre *natre*, *nadre* poitevin au sens soit "fin, rusé," soit "fou, turbulent, indocile." C'est évidemment la bonne voie (bien que Verrier-Onillon s'égare ensuite dans le fouillis gaulois!): il s'agit dans tous ces mots d'un euphémisme pour \**sacre* ou *sacré*, parallèle à

tellement inoffensif (comme *parbleu*, *morbleu*, etc.) qu'on doit ajouter l'épithète *sacré* (*nom de Dieu*) pour donner à l'expression un ton violent: dans (*sacré*) *nom de Dieu* on n'a donc pas senti le besoin de voiler le mot *Dieu*—ce qui se comprend par l'historique de l'expression: l'expression *sacré nom de Dieu* est en elle-même une expression euphémique: chez les Juifs, le *schem hamphōrasch*, le nom *Jéhovah*, ne peut être prononcé; en parlant du "*sacré*" *nom de Dieu* (cf. hébreu *baruch haschēm* "bénit soit le nom"), on ne le nomme pas *expressis verbis*, au contraire le nom est trop *sacré* pour être prononcé (v. mon travail "Dieu et ses noms" dans *PMLA*, LVI [1941], 14 seq.).

Je crois aujourd'hui que je me suis trompé dans la bonne compagnie de M. Lombard. Et dire qu'un dialectologue, pas du tout imbu du spécialisme linguistique moderne, mais bon chrétien fran-

*sapre* (je ne sais pas ce qu'elle a dans le ventre, cette saprée bougresse-là; n'y a gens de s'en aider! Verrier-Onillon; *sarpejeu*, *saperlotte*, *sapristi* pour *sacre Dieu*, *sacré Dieu*, etc.), *satrè* "forme alternative du fr. *sacré*" (Verr.-On.), *sarché* "id." (mon *sarché animal*), *discré* ("les femmes font de cet euphémisme un fréquent usage: mon *discré cochon*; une *grand discrè pistrée* 'une platée au comble, tout fin plein son plat, de soupe,'" Verr.-On.), et *pacré* "ressemblant, tout craché" (*c'est lui tout pacré*; Verr.-On. expliquent par *paucré* "grosse et vilaine main" de *pouacré* [> *podagra*], où la ressemblance, allant jusqu'aux phalanges identiques, serait indiquée—mais *pacré* est différent de *paucré* avec -au!): la locution *c'est le diable qui t'a pacré*, littéralement: "qui t'a fait à son image," doit bien vouloir dire à l'origine "c'est le diable qui t'a initié ("*sacré*") [jusqu'à te faire si ressemblant]." Ainsi *fou natre* n'est qu'un euphémisme de \**fou sacre*, *satre*,—le mot *sacre*, *satre* n'est attesté explicitement qu'en provençal: "maudit, *sacré*, en mauvaise part" "gros juron" (*sacre porc* "*sacré cochon*" de *sacris abitudo* "des habitudes désagréables," cf. *natri* "enfant désagréable, dans les Alpes," Mistral), mais les fr. *saprebleu*, etc. (à côté de *sacrédienn*), *maugrebleu*, etc., indiquent bien qu'il doit y avoir eu aussi en fr. un \**sacre*. Le p. de *pacré* vient de (*c'est lui tout*) *poché*, phrase synonyme qui se trouve déjà dans le *Pathelin* (Verrier-Onillon, s.v. *poqueré*, enregistrent la forme de la phrase *c'est sa mère toute poquée*, où *poquée* est *pochée* + *sacrée*). Aujourd'hui, comme nous avons dit plus haut, la règle en fr. (et aussi en prov. pour *sacre*) exige que *sacré*, pris en mauvaise part, doive précéder le substantif, mais rien ne nous empêche de supposer un ordre de mots ancien, plus libre (comme pour *maudit*: *maudit chien*—*chien maudit*). Un *fou natre* (voilant un \**fou sacre*) était à l'origine un "fou initié" puisque le *sacrement* est une "initiation" (cf. Rheinfelder, p. 65), et de là résultait le sens "complet, total" comme dans *fiéffé*, à l'origine "investi d'un fief" > "total." Le *nate* indépendant des patois modernes, dans ses sens si variés, est extrait de l'expression *fou natre* comme en anglais *arch* "rusé," *arrant* "notoire" sont extraits, d'une façon secondaire, de locutions comme *arch knave*, *arrant thief*, etc.; la variation des sens même est le meilleur indice de l'origine secondaire: un "vilain initié" pouvait ensuite devenir un diable, un enfant turbulent, un homme habile, un méchant, un rusé un avare. . . . L'apparition du mot *natre* seul dans des textes sérieux anciens français (Marie de France, *Roman de la Rose*, etc.) s'explique aisément: *natre* seul était devenu irréconnaissable, alors que *sarpejeu*, *sacre* (*bleu*) etc., sont encore plus proches de leur origine. Les formes *nadre*, *nagre* seront des déformations arbitraires de *natre*, *nacre*, influencées par *ladre*, *bougre*, etc. Le n- de *natre*, *nacrer*, *nadre*, *nagre*, provient probablement de (*re*)*nier* (ou de *né*, *naïf*, etc.). C'est par l'isolement de *natre* que les étymologistes ont compromis la véritable explication du mot, qui ne peut être donnée que si l'on le place dans la gamme entière des autres euphémismes, dans le cadre des variations phonétiques et sémantiques de la même famille de mots.

çais, le comte de Jaubert, dans son *Glossaire du Centre de la France* (1864), a trouvé la bonne solution en remontant à la liturgie catholique (c'est avouer que, en faisant des progrès scientifiques, nous avons perdu en culture générale—ce qui ne peut pas ne pas faire tort à notre "science")! Jaubert écrit *s.v.* *Nom de nom!*:

Juron répréhensible sans doute, mais où pourtant l'on évite de prononcer le nom par excellence, le *nom de Dieu*.—*Numen de numine*, prose de Noël... —explication qui s'accorderait avec ma théorie de l'euphémisme (*nom de Dieu > nom de nom*). Mais sous *Dieu* il nous donne une autre solution, beaucoup plus convaincante:

*Nom de Dieu!*—Application téméraire du *Deum de Deo* dans le *Credo* (*Voy. Nom de nom!*).

Il est évident que *Dieu de Dieu!* et *nom de nom!* (ce dernier très fréquent dans les humoresques militaires de Courteline) doivent avoir précédé *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu!* et que *nom de nom!* doit avoir été un euphémisme pour *Dieu de Dieu!* Témoin le *Glossaire de l'Anjou* de Verrier-Onillon *s.v.* *nom*: "*Nom de nom!*—espèce de jurement bénin (pour ceux qui s'arrêtent là)"—c'est à dire pour ceux qui ne disent pas *nom de Dieu*. (D'ailleurs le même dictionnaire atteste aussi les formes atténuées *nom de Dien*, *Dis*, *Dious*, *Gouet* et nous dit de *Dieu de Dieu*: "exclamation très employée pour marquer le dépit, l'impatience, la surprise. Elle n'est pas considérée c. un jurement"—ce qui atteste l'ancienneté de l'expression.) De même, Mistral nous donne *Dièu de Dièu* et ses succédanés euphémiques *Dièu de ièu* (béarn), *Dièu de jou* (gasc.), ainsi que *double Dieu*, *double noum de goi*, qui doivent être des résultats d'additions facétieuses ( $a + a = 2a$ : [*nom*] *de Dieu* + [*nom de*] *Dieu* = *double* [*nom de*] *Dieu*)—il est vrai que *double* pourrait aussi être un autre euphémisme pour *Dieu* (comme l'est quelquefois *vingt* pour *saint*).

Le passage du *Credo* auquel Jaubert fait allusion se trouve, non pas dans le *symbolum apostolicum* assez bref qui est prononcé dans le rituel catholique du baptême, mais dans celui, plus long, dit "nicène-constantinopolitain" qui fait partie de la messe: le second article de ce credo, dédié au Christ, contient en effet les mots:

[*Credo...*]

Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum.

Et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula.

*Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero.*<sup>5</sup>

Genitum, non factum, consubstantiali Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt.

<sup>5</sup> On se rappelle que le latinisme *verus deus*, tiré du credo, apparaît dans le texte anc. français de la *Passion*:

per tot obred que verus deus,  
per tot sosteg que hom carnals.

J'ai signalé dans *ZFSL*, LVIII, 437, le rôle central qu'occupe dans ce texte la "chair du Christ": c'est elle qui rend la rédemption du chrétien possible.

On sait que le concile de Nicée a modifié le symbole apostolique par des retouches destinées à y introduire le dogme, opposé à celui d'Arius, de l'identité de substance du Fils avec le Père (*ὁμοουσία*), et notre (*verus*) *Deus de Deo* est une de ces retouches (on peut voir dans la *Realenzyklopädie f. prot. Theologie*, XI, 12, et dans la *Enciclopedia italiana*, XI, 822, la discussion entre Harnack et Ed. Schwartz sur l'origine de ce credo).

La formule nicéenne a-t-elle des précédents? Voici ce que j'ai trouvé, grâce à l'aide du professeur Moulton:

(1) A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 2, 3, p. 258, mentionne une inscription païenne de Soknopaiou Nesos, datée du 24 mars 24 av. J.-Ch., où Auguste est appelé *θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ* et même une inscription de Rosette en honneur de Ptolémée Epiphane: *ὑπάρχων θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς καθάπερ ἱερός ὁ τῆς Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος υἱός* "qui est dieu de dieu et déesse comme Horos est le fils d'Isis et Osiris." M. Deissmann ajoute: "Diese Formel . . . gewinnt später im Christentum eine grosse Bedeutung," et il montre comment l'âme des premiers chrétiens devait souffrir de la déification impliquée dans le culte des empereurs romains et comment "un parallélisme polémique" entre le culte de l'empereur et celui du Christ s'établit, parallélisme qui mène à réserver des titres divins, attribués aux grands de la terre par les païens, au Nazarène, seul roi véritable qui avait partagé sa vie terrestre avec les humbles: c'est lui seul qui sera *θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ*.

(2) Tertullien, *Apologeticum* (197 ap. J.-Chr.), chap. xxi. Ce texte capital, où le père de l'église africaine oppose la foi chrétienne à la fois au paganisme et au judaïsme, enseigne que l'adoration de Dieu par le Christ n'est pas incompatible avec l'unité de Dieu, qui "s'est incarné pour éclairer l'humanité." S'opposant plus particulièrement aux stoïciens païens qui admettent un Logos et un Esprit, Tertullien écrit (je copie la traduction Waltzing-Severyns de l'éd. Guill. Budé, p. 49, 11-13, en intercalant les mots marquants en latin):

Or, nous aussi, nous regardons la parole et la raison, et aussi la puissance par lesquelles Dieu a tout créé . . . comme une substance propre que nous appelons 'esprit': la parole est dans cet esprit quand il commande, la raison le seconde quand il dispose, la puissance l'assiste quand il réalise. Nous disons que Dieu a proféré cet esprit et qu'en le proférant il l'a engendré, et que pour cette raison il est appelé Fils de Dieu et Dieu, à cause de l'unité de la substance; car Dieu aussi est esprit. Quand un rayon est lancé hors du soleil, c'est une partie qui part du tout; mais le soleil est dans le rayon, parce que

Sur des réminiscences populaires des deux credos dans les langues romanes cf. Rheinfelder, p. 300 seq.—La formule *lux de luce* apparaît en anglais chez Milton, *Paradise Regained*, IV, 594: [le Christ] "True image of the father, whether thron'd / In the bosom of bliss, and *light of light* / Conceiving"; [le Christ dit] (*ibid.*, 288): ". . . he who receives / *Light* from above, from the fountain of *light*, / No other doctrine needs," et dans le credo que Young a mis à la fin de ses *Night Thoughts*: "And Thou the next! yet equal . . . illustrious *Light* / from *Light* illustrious . . ." et en all. chez Luther dans sa chanson allemande: *wahr Gott vom wahren Gott*.

c'est un rayon du soleil, et que la substance n'est pas divisée, mais étendue, comme la lumière qui s'allume à la lumière (*ut lumen de lumine accensum*). . . .

Ainsi ce qui est sorti de Dieu est Dieu, Fils de Dieu, et les deux ne font qu'un. Ainsi l'esprit qui vient de l'esprit et Dieu qui vient de Dieu (*ita de spiritu spiritus et de Deo Deus*) a reçu un sens chrétien et, pour expliquer la consubstantialité du Père et du Fils, Tertullien a employé une image graphique (*lumen de lumine*),<sup>6</sup> qui offrait un parallèle aussi bien conceptuel que verbal. Nous assistons avec ce texte à la genèse de l'expression dont la liberté (la variation de l'ordre des mots: *de Deo Deus*, mais *lumen de lumine accensum*) va se pétrifier dans le texte nicéen (qui a aussi omis le troisième membre *de spiritu spiritus* dont il parlera au troisième article).

(3) Un troisième texte qui m'est inaccessible: *Lux tuae lucis* (donc avec le génitif classique latin) dans une prière de la messe des vigiles de Pentecôte, mentionnée par D'Alès, *Le dogme de Nicée*, p. 11.

Mais je pense qu'il faut aussi invoquer, pour les formules dans Tertullien et dans le credo nicéen, des tournures hébraïques comme (*Genèse* II, 23, dans la bouche d'Adam parlant de la création d'Eve): "*Hoc nunc os est de ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea*." Puisque le dogme chrétien admet une descente de la divinité dans la chair, malgré la consubstantialité du Père et du Fils, pourquoi cette consubstantialité n'aurait-elle pas été exprimée dans des termes rappelant celle, absolument charnelle, du premier couple humain?—et, comme la langue hébraïque, avec ses possibilités de traduction de faits mystiques en faits charnels, a su admirablement dépeindre cette identité de substance dans le premier couple par la répétition du mot "chair"<sup>7</sup> et par ce "de" littéralement "partitif" ou "séparatif," les Pères, continuant ainsi dans l'esprit mystique de l'hébreu, ont pu forger d'après *caro de carne, os de ossibus* des expressions aussi

<sup>6</sup> L'idée de la lumière indiminuable a été exprimée dans ces mêmes termes chez les anciens. Des vers d'Ennius nous sont transmis par Cicéron, *de Officiis*: "*Homo qui erranti comiter monstrat viam / quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat facit. Nihilominus ipsi lucet, cum illi accenderit,*" et Ovide, *Fasti* 387, écrit: "*Quis vetet adposito lumen de lumine sumi.*"

<sup>7</sup> C'est ce qu'un Longin et un Boileau auraient désigné par "sublime," c'est à dire la simplicité solennelle, comme dans cette phrase biblique: "Dieu dit: Que la lumière se fasse; et la lumière se fit." "Ce tour extraordinaire d'expression, qui marque si bien l'obéissance de la créature aux ordres du créateur, est véritablement sublime, et à quelque chose de divin," écrit Boileau dans sa préface au *Traité du sublime*. Nous dirions que *Deus de Deo*, de même que *fiat lux, et facta est lux*, évoque, par la répétition des mots, un parallélisme mystique, surnaturel—et le fait accepter au croyant comme une réalité miraculeuse.—La langue populaire retient le parallélisme mystique du biblique *caro de carne* dans l'expression "refaite": *c'est la chair de sa chair* = c'est un autre lui-même: un *alter ego* pose toujours un problème métaphysique, que l'individu ne peut résoudre: la phrase biblique lui suggère au moins un "parallélisme surnaturel."

hautement spirituelles: *deus de deo*, *de spiritu spiritus* (*de lumine lumen*), etc. Ainsi, ces formules s'expliquent aussi bien par le grec que l'hébreu: il y a convergence des deux langues scripturaires dans un phénomène linguistique particulier, comme tant de fois dans notre tradition biblique (v. p. ex. Deissmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 87, sur *δύο δύο* au sens distributif). Nous voyons ici une sorte de synthèse linguistique, reflétant la synthèse d'éléments païens et judaïques qu'a accomplie la première chrétienté.

On notera que dans le verset du credo en question le fait d'être *né de Dieu* est rendu par la préposition *ex*, le fait de la consubstantialité (homogénéité) avec Dieu par la préposition *de* qui exprimera en roman le partitif, c'est à dire la partie d'une substance: la même distinction se trouve dans l'épître 65 de saint Jérôme (ad Marcel-lam): *Virgo de virgine, qui non ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo natus est* —évidemment, l'épître datant de 397 est sous l'influence du texte du credo nicène.

Quelque importante que soit l'historique de la formule nicène (dérivation d'une formule panégyrique païenne et d'un type d'expression hébreu), devrais-je renoncer à mon explication et recourir, pour le jurement *français* qui est le sujet de cet article, au "fonds commun" de la tradition prénicène? Je ne le crois pas. Et d'abord, je ferai remarquer que je n'ai pas invoqué le credo nicène *qua credo nicène*<sup>8</sup>: je ne le fais intervenir que parce qu'il se trouve dans la messe catholique. *Deus de Deo* viendrait-il d'autres sources que celles esquissées plus haut, que la présence de la formule dans un texte récité à haute voix à l'église serait presque le seul facteur important pour l'explication de son rayonnement et de sa profanation parmi le peuple. Je peux invoquer ici l'appui de M. Rheinfelder ("Kultsprache und Profansprache"), qui, avec son expérience habituelle de la dévotion (et du manque de dévotion) populaire en pays roman, a tenu à déclarer que même les textes bibliques ne se sont propagés et n'ont été altérés au moyen âge dans des milieux laïcs qu'à travers la liturgie:

... knüpft der profane Gebrauch biblischer Sprachweise an die private Bibellektüre oder an die Schriftverlesung in der Liturgie an? ... mir scheint,

<sup>8</sup> C'était le *symbolum apostolorum* qui était appris par le grand public au moyen âge. M. G. Lozinski, *Neuphil. Mitt.*, XXXI, 175, dans son article "Recherches sur les sources du Credo de Joinville," écrit: "Dès les premiers siècles, l'Eglise exigeait des fidèles une connaissance précise du Credo, de l'oraison dominicale, de l'Ave Maria. Les prêtres devaient les expliquer *ex cathedra*. Charlemagne confirmait ces prescriptions et établissait des sanctions contre ceux de ses sujets qui ignoraient le Credo. Les trois textes mentionnés étaient appris par coeur, dès le plus bas âge, le plus souvent en latin, mais leur compréhension n'était pas jugée indispensable. Les paroles possédaient en elles-mêmes une vertu salutaire." Or, ce credo, connu à tout le monde, ne contient précisément pas la formule *Deus de Deo*, car l'article 2 dit: "Et in Jesum Christum filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum." C'est ce credo qui a donné naissance à la locution (fr., esp., etc.) dénotant une parcelle infime de temps: *en un credo*.

daß man im allgemeinen die öffentliche und laute Bibelverkündigung in der Liturgie häufiger als Ausgangspunkt betrachten darf. . . . Die Schriftlesung innerhalb der Liturgie hörte jeder, der im Mittelalter überhaupt noch Christ heißen wollte. . . . Jene Seelen jedoch, die sich außerdem gedrängt fühlten, noch privatim in den heiligen Büchern zu lesen, mußten einen Grad von Frömmigkeit beseßen haben, der mit einem, wenigstens bewußten Mißbrauch von Bibelstellen nicht vereint gedacht werden kann.—Erst wenn es sich um einen Bibeltext handelt, der in der Liturgie nirgends Verwendung findet, ist man berechtigt an außerliturgischen Einfluß der Bibel zu denken (208-09).

Ce qui est vrai de la profanation de la Bible (qu'elle ne s'attaque qu'à des passages bibliques *entendus* à l'église), vaut *a fortiori* pour des textes non-scripturaires, p. ex. des écrits patristiques: les milieux populaires qui ont d'abord juré *Dieu de Dieu* n'ont pas pu dénicher la formule *Deus de Deo* dans Tertullien: je ne vois pas de climat médiéval favorable à l'éclosion d'un jurement en dehors de la messe: le peuple médiéval ignorait le latin. Notre (*nom de*) *Dieu de (nom de)* *Dieu* n'a son sens plein que si c'est une citation d'un texte bien déterminé, bien constitué et qui résonne dans les oreilles de toute la communauté: que *gloria* soit devenu en fr. un café et *lavabo* un meuble employé pour la toilette, M. Rheinfelder l'a bien montré, n'a été possible qu'à partir de mots, chargés de sens mystique, de la messe. Il n'en sera pas autrement de *Deus de Deo*.

Et maintenant nous pouvons préciser que le fait qu'il s'agisse dans (*nom de*) *Dieu de (nom de)* *Dieu* d'un passage du credo travesti a son importance: bien entendu, sans la présence du credo dans la messe, il n'y aurait pas de (*nom de*) *Dieu de (nom de)* *Dieu*—mais, puisqu'il s'agit du credo, la valeur de style du jurement en est singulièrement intensifiée: l'individu qui jure, jure "dans les formes"—avec un formalisme rigoureux destiné à souligner son orthodoxie: il fait sous-entendre: "je ne jure pas seulement par Dieu, mais par Dieu avec toutes ses attributions, par le Dieu catholique selon la formule de l'Eglise." Que *Deus de Deo* soit plus long que le simple *Deus* n'est pas non plus sans importance: cela permet à l'individu parlant à s'épancher plus longtemps (ainsi, un Autrichien, qui normalement s'écrierait *Jesses!* "Jésus!", donnera plus d'emphasis à son jurement en énumérant toute la sainte famille: *Jesses, Maria und Joseph!*).

Au fond, la trivialisation d'une formule liturgique n'est qu'un des nombreux phénomènes du romanisme s'opposant au latin. Le culte catholique perpétue en effet un état de choses médiéval, quand sous la voûte puissante du latin de l'Eglise, langue ésotérique exprimant le transcendant, se développèrent les langues vulgaires dites romanes, exprimant la vie séculière des masses: de "la voûte latine" des éléments linguistiques, empreints de sens mystique, descendaient vers les masses—qui, si elles ne comprenaient pas le détail exact, com-

prénaient au moins la présence du transcendant<sup>9</sup>—sous la forme soit de soi-disant mots savants, soit de calques linguistiques (traductions) : c'est le cas de *Deus de Deo* > *Dieu de Dieu*. Aujourd'hui, la coupole latine a été enlevée et les langues vulgaires, grâce à la sécularisation de la vie, peuvent affirmer leur indépendance—ce qui veut dire, pour notre cas particulier, que le juron (*nom de Dieu de (nom de) Dieu* a perdu ses attaches avec la langue du transcendant, attaches que seule une pensée pour ainsi dire théologico-philologique, s'appliquant à reconstituer dans la pensée la cathédrale médiévale, peut retrouver.

Nous voyons clair maintenant dans la structure syntaxique de (*nom de) Dieu (de nom) de Dieu*. Le *de*<sup>10</sup> latin de *Deus de Deo* est un vulgarisme remplaçant le *ex* qui indique l'origine en latin classique (cf. Löfstedt, *Philolog. Kommentar zur Peregr. Aetheriae*, p. 103 : *archiotipa similiter de tali marmore facta*, contre Pline : *lateres non*

<sup>9</sup> Rheinfelder, p. 301, en expliquant la dérivation de l'italien populaire *il visibilio* "tout ce qui est visible," "foison de" à partir de la définition de Dieu Père par le credo : *factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium*, écrit : "Auch derjenige der das Credo nicht Wort für Wort versteht, weiss, dass an jener Stelle Gott als der Schöpfer aller Dinge gepriesen wird. Die Vorstellung knüpft sich an das auffallende Wort *visibilium*, das vom Italiener, wenn auch unklar in der Form, doch noch als 'sichtbar' empfunden wird." Ni du point de vue du sens du passage, ni du point de vue linguistique, l'âme populaire italienne ne s'est donc trompée, elle a même fait preuve d'un esprit hautement synthétique. Ce qui a altéré le mot à mot du texte, c'est une sorte d'équation pseudo-grammaticale populaire : *-ium* = un neutre—c'est du latin interprété par une mentalité romane restant en contact avec lui.

Je peux ajouter un murcien (andalou) *visivilo* "visión," "ademán, gesto, señal que denota cierto propósito que no expresa claramente" (d'après le vocabulaire murcien de Sevilla)—qui, évidemment, dérive du même texte du credo : en Andalousie aussi un peuple roman a interprété le texte latin, mais d'une façon différente : à Murcie on a été plus littéral et plus rationaliste : on n'a pas pu concilier le monde "visible" et "l'invisible," indiqué par le passage, et il en est résulté une idée de "confusion," qui n'est justifiée ni par le texte ni par la situation. Le texte unitaire latin est, pour ainsi dire, "glosé" différemment dans les différents pays romans. En espagnol notre formule *Deus de Deo* a été, elle aussi, interprétée, d'une façon triviale, comme contenant des formes de *dar* "donner" : *dé donde diere* (ainsi dans Cervantes, *Don Quix.*, II, 71; Calderón, *La banda y flor*, I; cf. l'édition Rodríguez Marín de la première oeuvre, VI, 405), mais ici il y a plutôt boutade voulue que mécompréhension.

<sup>10</sup> Notre formule apparaît aussi avec *ab* dans une poésie de Venantius Fortunatus (*Op. poet.*, ed. F. Leo, dans *Mon. Germ.*, auct. antiquiss. IV, I, livre V, n° 5) : le poète proclame la trinité (v. 41 seq.) :

est deus, alta fides, unus trinus et trinus unus:  
personis propriis stat tribus unus apex.  
nam pater est genitus, quoque sanctus spiritus idem:  
sic tribus est unum ius opus ordo thronus,

puis viennent des analogies tirées de l'histoire d'Abraham et de Loth—la dernière analogie semble être la mention dans la Bible des trois villes Sodome, Segor, et Gomorrhe dont Loth réussit à s'échapper : le vers sur cette dernière ville a la forme : *cum a domino dominus pluit igni triste Gomorrhæ* (v. 51) et est suivi d'un vers résumant les vers 41 seq. : [*Dieu*] *filius et pater est, a domino dominus*. Le v. 51, évidemment dérivé de *Genèse* XIX, 24 : "Igitur Dominus pluit super Sodomam, et Gomorrhæ sulphur, et ignem a Domino de coelo," a dû accepter l'interpolation *a domino dominus* à cause de *filius et pater* v. 57, *pater et genitus* v. 43. Mais *a domino dominus* remonte à un *Deus de* (ou *a?*) *Deo*.

sunt ex sabuloso . . . ducendi solo), et même le génitif (cf. *supra*: lux lucis). Ce *de* latin "vulgaire" lui-même remonte au grec biblique postérieur *ἐξ*, indiquant la provenance ou le partitif et remplaçant (avec *ἀπό* qui évincera *ἐξ* en grec moderne) le génitif classique, cf. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 102 (sur l'inscription ptoléméenne citée ci-dessus) et Blass-Debrunner, §§164, 212.

Dans *Dieu de Dieu* (> *Deus de Deo*) le *de*, qui faisait tant de difficulté à M. Lombard, est donc un *de* (= *ἐξ*) qui signifie l'origine de la substance pour ainsi dire matérielle du Christ (elle, divine, vient de la substance divine—*ex Deo prolatum*, comme dit Tertulien, *ex Patre natum*, comme dit le symbolum lui-même au verset précédant, avec une tournure plus abstraite. Cf. Isidore, *Et.*, VII, IV ("de Trinitate"): "Pater solus non est *de* alio. . . Filius solus *de* Patre est natus. . . Spiritus sanctus solus *de* Patre et Filius procedit." L'expression *Dieu de Dieu*, au moins à l'origine, n'était donc pas tautologique: elle signifiait le dédoublement de la divinité une en deux personnes consubstantielles. Puis intervient la tendance euphémique, qui se manifeste, soit dans le remplacement de *Dieu* (deux fois) par *nom* (*de Dieu*<sup>11</sup>)—de là le caractère binômique de *nom* (*de Dieu*) *de* *nom* (*de Dieu*),<sup>12</sup> soit dans le remplacement d'un des termes ou des deux par un mot inoffensif (*v.* plus haut les exemples béarnais et gascons, avec "moi" au second membre),<sup>13</sup> remplacement qui changea le caractère du *de*: le prov. *Dièu de ièu* fait l'impression d'un "Dieu de moi," cf. esp. *¡ay de mí!* = "pitié de moi!" L'euphémisme ne s'est pas arrêté à *nom de nom*: Mistral nous donne un *noum de noun* où le second membre est "non," ce qui équivalait à nier qu'on a juré (cf. *sacre noun de pas Dieu*, Mistral), et puis *noum de goi*, *noum de sort*, *noum de mîls*, *noum d'un gârri* ("rat"), qui montrent des travestis fantaisistes de "Dieu" parallèles au fr. *nom d'un chien*,<sup>14</sup> *d'un bonhomme*, *d'une pipe*, etc. (cf. aussi les euphémismes cités par FEW s.v. *deus* III, 58).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. prov. *troun de noum*, *cap de noum*, *coquin de noum* (Mistral), jurons employant "nom" comme travesti de "Dieu."

<sup>12</sup> Je n'ose pas reconduire *nom de nom* à *lumen de lumine* du credo, bien que le *numen* de *numine* d'une prose de Noël (laquelle?) que cite Jaubert en paraisse une dérivation.

<sup>13</sup> Citons ici, d'après *Méhusine*, IV, 498, le liégeois *nom tout oute* (= "nom tout outre"), c'est à dire "*nom de Dieu* (*de nom de Dieu*) avec *de Dieu* ouvertement prononcé" (*dire tout outre* a signifié en anc. fr. "dire carrément, franchement," puis du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle "risquer le mot, ne pas se gêner pour dire une obscénité ou proférer un juron," et même, d'après Oudin 1640, par une association avec *foutre*, "dire le gros mot, le mot qui commence par F"—*v.* J. Orr, *Rev. d. lingu. rom.*, IX, 78). Celui qui dit "nom tout outre" au lieu de "nom de Dieu (de nom de Dieu)" adopte une attitude nettement hypocrite: il se garde de prononcer les mots tabous, mais il intime à l'interlocuteur de se les figurer prononcés—péché de la pensée, plus grave que celui du mot!

<sup>14</sup> L'article indéfini n'est évidemment pas né dans le type *Dieu de Dieu*!, *nom de nom*!, puisqu'il n'y a pas plusieurs dieux dans le dogme chrétien et

Il est évident que le *de* marquant l'origine et le caractère binômique de l'expression ne sont plus compris dans *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu*—le contenu dogmatique de l'expression a été oblitéré (la valeur différente du premier et troisième *de* d'un côté, du second de l'autre, n'est plus notée), et l'assonance phonétique a eu le dessus: ainsi s'expliquent les allongements et les "queues romantiques," de *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu* jusqu'à la phrase monstrueuse de Courteline citée au début. Ce qui peut avoir contribué à l'affaiblissement de la valeur originaire du (second) *de*, c'est aussi le type *un nom de Dieu de gaillard* "un diable de gaillard," que nous avons expliqué plus haut et où le second *de* est celui de *ce fripon de valet*: dans les jurons populaires mentionnés par Bauche: *bon Dieu (de putain) de garce!*, *bon Dieu de bordel (de merde)!*, il est évident qu'à l'origine on maudissait une "garce," un "bordel" (*bon Dieu* équivalant à "maudit"), mais que les queues (*de putain, de merde*) proviennent en dernier lieu de la suite des *de* du type *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu*. Bauche dit très bien du type *bordel de Dieu*: "La réunion de deux mots grossiers donne

que l'individu parlant ne veut nullement affirmer des tendances paganisantes, ni dans une affirmation du Dieu *un* qui apparaît en trois personnes, mais dans des expressions comme *nom d'un cheval!*, *ventre d'une vache!*, *ventre d'un petit poisson!*, *par la vertu d'un oignon!*, tous attestés aux XVII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles dans *Mélinus*, IV, 113, *nom d'un lapin rôti* attesté dans Hébert par Brunot, *loc. cit.*: ce sont probablement des bêtes ou des objets hétéroclites (le *un* trahit l'hésitation), choisis au petit bonheur, qui ont été parés d'abord de l'article indéfini, et ensuite celui-ci—cf. *parlamordoubille* (= par la mort d'un Dieu) dans le *Théâtre des boulevards* (1756)—a envahi le type *nom de Dieu* (*nom d'un Dieu*).

*Chien* sera un dérivé de la forme *Dien* comme *pipe* et *petit bonhomme* le sont de *Dis*, -gris, etc. Cf. aussi le *s'crognognieu* du capitaine Ramollot de Gyp (= *s'acré* *nom de Dieu*). Le schéma rythmique et les voyelles toniques sont les éléments les plus constants. Dans l'esprit de la communauté parlante (comme dans l'esprit d'un individu) ce sont le rythme et les voyelles toniques qui nous viennent les premiers à la mémoire quand nous avons oublié un nom.—Il s'agit de variations spirituelles de notre schéma, si Rostand fait jurer son chien Patou pour venger l'honneur animal, *par nom d'un homme!*, et si Tristan Bernard, faisant jurer Dieu lui-même, lui fait dire *nom de Moi!*

<sup>15</sup> M. von Wartburg affirme que *nom de Dieu!* ne se trouve qu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. En effet, l'ancien français a dit *nom Dieu*, p. ex. dans *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 10, 78: *enom Dieu* = en nom de Dieu, et cf. Zöckler, de là *mort Dieu* > *morbieu*; *corps Dieu* > *corbleu*; *vertudieu*, etc. Dans Molière (Livet, s.v. jurons) on ne trouve pas le type *nom de Dieu* (par le *mort non de diable* me semble contenir, plutôt que *nom*, le *non* niant le fait d'avoir juré, le "non de démenti," comme nous le trouvons en provençal). Pourtant, Brunot atteste (*Hist. d. l. langue fr.*, X, 228) un *Sacré nom de Dieu. Je lui foutis une bonne accolade* (dans la bouche d'un civil) dans un bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, p. 170, ensuite, dans la bouche d'un Commissaire du Conseil de l'an II: *sacré nom d'un Dieu!*, et puis, p. 181 (chapitre intitulé "Jurons de style"), "isolés ou en paquets, des n. de D. . ." dans le *Père Duchêne* de Hébert (vers 1790)—il faut donc reculer d'au moins dix ans l'apparition du juron *nom de Dieu* dans des textes publiés. C'est probablement à la Révolution que revient le "mérite" d'avoir osé employer par écrit des expressions, qu'on prononçait peut-être, n'écrivait jamais. Je note encore que Zöckler, p. 8, rappelle que Louis XIV défendit aux soldats en 1681 "de jurer le saint Nom de Dieu"—ce qui recule nos dates et donne un démenti formel à l'assertion de M. von Wartburg.

naissance à un juron d'autant plus fort que les mots sont plus grossiers ou plus sonores, ou plus disparates (le mot *Dieu* étant considéré comme grossier)<sup>16</sup>: les mots "sonores" et "disparates" n'avaient rien à voir à l'origine dans l'expression dérivée du credo—ce sont les euphémismes<sup>16</sup> (qui quelquefois introduisent des mots disparates pour dépister l'oreille du croyant) qui ont habitué l'individu parlant à la variation fantaisiste et, une fois l'habitude de la variation prise, le parlant qui voulait renforcer un juron, ne revenait plus au schéma primordial simple, mais brodait de plus en plus sur l'acquis: la route à *Dieu de Dieu* et *nom de nom* est barrée une fois pour toutes, il n'y a qu'à continuer dans la voie du fantaisiste. Ainsi, l'imagination n'intervient que quand le rapport logique précis entre les membres de l'expression-modèle s'est relâché. L'esprit de jeu n'entre en action que quand l'esprit logique fléchit. L'invention plaisante n'est pas primordiale, elle n'est que la conséquence de l'état d'hésitation qui s'établit dans l'esprit: "puisque'il n'y a pas de lien idéologique qui nous retienne, jouons!" Marcel Schwob a découvert naguère la "dérivation synonymique," qui, grâce à une technique de l'allusion spirituelle, prévaut dans l'argot (exemple typique: *maquereau* 1. "poisson," 2. "entremetteur" > *barbet, brochet, dauphin* "entremetteur" > *dos vert* "entremetteur"; cf. Sainéan, *Sources indigènes*, I, 264)—la "dérivation synonymique" se trouve aussi dans nos jurons,<sup>17</sup> grâce à la même technique d'allusion ("je dis *nom de nom* au lieu de *Dieu de Dieu*"), seulement l'individu parlant est moins libre et par conséquent moins spirituel que l'argotisant,

<sup>16</sup> Il est curieux de voir des tendances euphémiques primer précisément dans la parlure du peuple: ainsi Bauche nous apprend: "Le peuple de Paris ne dit pas 'mon Dieu' et dit assez rarement 'nom de Dieu!'. La formule générale en L[angage] P[opulaire] pour ces deux expressions, l'exclamation faible comme le juron violent, est *bon Dieu!*"; "*Bon sang!* a à peu près le même sens que *bon Dieu!*, en plus faible. C'est une expression essentiellement populaire, qu'on entend seulement dans le peuple." Ce courant euphémique populaire est évidemment contrecarré par un courant contraire tendant vers le renforcement de la grossièreté: *bordel de Dieu!*, *bordel de merde!*, etc. Très souvent l'euphémisme originaire est pour ainsi dire revalorisé: c'est sa qualité imaginative ou "sonore," comme Bauche le dit si bien, qui prime: ainsi quand Boubouroche, dans la farce de Courteline bien connue, a été mis en garde contre le cocuage par un vieux philosophe, il dit, "abattant brusquement sur la table un coup de poing": *Nom d'un tonneau!—tonneau* est à l'origine un euphémisme (peut-être même un dérivé de *tonnerre*), mais, dans la situation en question, il évoque une révélation "grande comme un tonneau," et la valeur acoustique des deux *o* du mot rend bien l'ahurissement de Boubouroche.

<sup>17</sup> Il y a aussi une "dérivation phonétique" dans les jurons (*foutre* > *fouren, fiche, fichtre, oultre* [sur ce dernier cf. J. Orr, *loc. cit.*]; *Dieu* > *Dis, Dieu, gris, bleu, bien, gué*, etc.), qui ne trouve presque pas de parallèle dans les périphrases argotiques: c'est que l'expression tabou a plus d'emprise sur ses remplaçants que l'expression argotique: quand l'individu parlant veut voiler *foutre* ou *Dieu*, il est comme obsédé par le mot tabou et il doit en reproduire quelque peu la forme phonétique—alors que quand il veut remplacer *maquereau*, son imagination est plus libre, il peut être spirituel, divaguer, s'éloigner de la forme phonétique du modèle.

parce que, en jurant, il se trouve vis-à-vis du sacré, réalité pourtant indéradicable dans l'esprit du chrétien, avec lequel on peut peut-être ruser, non pas se permettre de "l'esprit pour l'esprit," le calembour, etc. Le patron "sacré" exercera toujours son ascendant sur le juron, comme toute parodie affirme la chose parodiée. Mais si le patron vient à se désagréger (comme dans *Dieu de Dieu*), l'esprit de jeu pourra se donner libre carrière et alors les jurons montreront presque autant d'imagination facétieuse que les périphrases argotiques.

Quand le type de juron *Dieu de Dieu!*, *nom de nom!* était réduit à un schéma algébrique ( $a + de + a!$ ), où le *de* n'est plus qu'un agent de liaison entre les deux termes du binôme, il pouvait devenir productif et admettre dans son cadre préfixé d'autres mots vulgaires, obscènes, injurieux, etc.: ainsi *Foutre de foutre!* (Duhamel, *Civilisation*, p. 165), *sapristi de sapristi!*, *mort de mort!*, *fichtre de fichtre!*, attestés par Zöckler. On peut se demander si le type d'injure *vache de vache!* est une extension de *Dieu de Dieu!*, *foutre de foutre!* M. Maurice Prigniel, dans une lettre datée: Paris, le 9 mai 1936, a eu l'obligeance de me signaler les exemples suivants: Henri Chassin, *Machin de Belleville* (1927), p. 59: *Ah! vach' de temps! Vach' de vache!*; l'exclamation, usuelle à Montmartre, entendue par M. Prigniel le 4 mai 1936 à l'adresse d'un adversaire qui s'est échappé: *la vache de vache!*; *gosse de gosse!* "jeté en vocatif, non sans bonne humeur"; *salaud(s) de salaud(s)!* *bandit(s) de bandit(s)!*, *coquin de coquin!*, *misère de misère!*<sup>18</sup> J'ai lu moi-même *bougre de bougre*. Dans des cas comme *vache de vache!* on pourrait penser aussi à une parodie du type *roi des rois* (biblique et, en dernier lieu, hébraïque) —mais qui pourrait entièrement exclure l'intervention de *nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu!*, *bon sang de bon sang!*, c'est à dire de la répétition machinale d'une imprécation (avec le *de* "schématique"), d'autant plus que le type *un nom de Dieu de gaillard* est identique à *vache de . . . ?* Comme on peut étendre le premier en un \**nom de Dieu de nom de Dieu de gaillard*, on peut concevoir un redoublement: *vache de vache [de temps]!* Je suis à peu près sûr que l'exclamation *vrai de vrai!* est moulée sur *Dieu de Dieu!*, *foutre de foutre!*: Pierre Véber, *Les Rentrées*: Eva: *Que voulez-vous, mon bon monsieur, j'ai ce qui me faut chez moi.*—Souplet: *Vrai de vrai?*—Eva: *Sûr de sûr!* (cette dernière réplique reproduit, d'une façon plaisante, le schéma); Céline, *Voyage au bout de la nuit*, p. 449: *se coucher dans le vrai lit à soi, le sien, vrai de vrai, celui du bon trou pour en finir*, où je crois pouvoir admettre un *vrai de vrai!*, interjection adverbiale. Quand ce *vrai de vrai!* exclamatif-adverbial au sens de "assurément" s'était constitué, rien n'empêchait d'employer *vrai de*

<sup>18</sup> Douteux: = *misère de misères?* Jamais de jamais pourrait être moulé sur rien de rien (il ne fait rien de rien, littéralement "il ne fait rien dans aucune chose, occupation," etc.).

*vrai* comme une sorte d'adjectif à redoublement (d'après le modèle du couple *vrai!, sûr!* adverbe exclamatif—*vrai, -e, sûr, -e*, adjectif). C'est ainsi qu'on trouve aujourd'hui: *c'est du vrai de vrai, ce café* (entendu par M. Prigniel le 31 octobre 1935), *c'est de la vraie de vraie, ma petite*<sup>19</sup> (prononcé en juillet 1934 par une marchande des quatre saisons parlant à une cliente à propos d'une salade); *l'poteau-poteau... le vrai de vrai, le copain, l'affranchi, quoi... çui-là, faut le respecter*, paroles prêtées à un cambrioleur par le journal *La Volonté* du 20 décembre 1925, que cite M. Gougenheim dans *Le français moderne*, III, 346; Céline, *Voyage au bout de la nuit*, p. 39: cité à l'ordre du jour pour la manière dont il faisait sa petite guerre à lui, la profonde, la vraie de vraie; p. 358: *Un vieux petit "Montaigne" un vrai de vrai pour un franc*. Le tour adjectival (à redoublement) *vrai de vrai* a présidé, à son tour, à de nouvelles formations: Céline, *Bagatelles pour un massacre*, p. 57: *Popol c'est un vieux Montmartrois... Il a été préconçu dans les jardins de la Galette, un soir de 14 juillet, c'est le Montmartre "de ses moins de 9 mois."* Alors c'est un "pur de pur" (ce qui veut dire, dans l'idéologie célinienne, un "pur aryen"). Les deux cas suivants sont moins clairs (p. 267): *Et vous êtes là... [devant une manoeuvre du Journal l'Humanité] les fesses en l'air... Vous demeurez vous "masses de masses"... ruminantes!... dégueulasses!... Vous comprenez rien!* (les points de suspension, si caractéristiques du style haletant de Céline, sont dans l'original)—faut-il comprendre *masses de masses* = "des infinités (*masses*) de foules (*masses*)" ou comme une sorte d'invective du type *gosse de gosse*, etc.?; (p. 281): *Mr. Rothschild et Mr. Marx, auparavant séparés, se retrouvant tout à fait d'accord, admirablement d'accord pour nous filer au casse-pipe, "compères de compères," nous faire tourner en boudin. C'est la jolie règle du jeu juif—est-ce que compères de compères exprime la réciprocité du lien de compérage ou "compères au plus haut degré, archi-compères," avec la nuance de l'invective?*

Avec la prose-pogrome contemporaine de Céline nous voilà loin de Tertullien, du credo des conciles du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après Jésus-Christ et de la messe catholique: en observant cette évolution multiséculaire, nous assistons à la laïcisation d'une expression qui avait à l'origine un sens dogmatique et sublime: le patron populaire du juron répété (ou de l'expression renforcée qui en dérive) n'a pu se

<sup>19</sup> Au fond, on devrait écrire *la vrai de vraie*, ou plutôt la  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vrai de vrai} \\ e \end{array} \right\}$ . Cf., au point de vue syntaxique, Gyp, *Israël*: L'arroseur: *j'sais seulement qu' c'est eun' marquise!*—Un voyou: *eun' pour de vraie?* (= une  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pour de vrai} \\ e \end{array} \right\}$ ), passage cité par O. Pfau, *Beitrag z. Kenntnis der mod.-frz. Volkssprache* (Marburg, 1901), p. 37.

constituer qu'à partir du moment où le rapport mystique exprimé par la préposition *de* n'a plus été compris, où la langue française, née sous la coupole latine, a imposé sa logique particulière: c'est alors que la tendance à "persévérer" (répéter) ou à varier l'a emporté, et le pullulement de nouvelles formations suit, en proportion exacte, le relâchement du sens de la formule originaire.<sup>20</sup> À la différence

<sup>20</sup> Il y a comme une loi paradoxale du mot "*refoulé*" remontant dans l'âme de l'individu parlant: dès qu'un mot est tabou, ses remplaçants sont volontiers choisis parmi d'autres mots tabous, de sorte que l'intention euphémique est annulée; j'expliquerais de la même façon *nom de foutre* (et non pas par "dysphémisme," prononcé pour rendre le blasphème plus scandaleux, Damour-Pichon §756): l'esprit de l'individu parlant veut éviter *nom de Dieu*—et *nom de foutre* "monte" à la bouche. Quelquefois le mot tabou affleure en partie dans le remplaçant, le résultat en sera alors un croisement: *fichu* à le -u de *foutu*; *bigre*, qui est censé cacher *bougre*, se ressent de *fichtre*—c'est comme si, pour raccomoder une pièce de vêtement délabrée, on cousait des lambeaux pas moins fripés. Enfin, le mot tabou se dédouble, triple, etc., en plusieurs mots-remplaçants, parce qu'un seul semblerait trop faible: au lieu de voir employé un mot *un*, nous assistons alors au pullulement de toute sorte de formes bâtarde, se croisant entre elles, comme de vrais parias auquel tout autre *connumbium* est refusé—l'euphémisme tend vers le surpeuplement de la langue par des mots parias: cf. la phrase de Courteline citée au début et *idem*, *Le train de 8 h. 47*: *Bon sang de sort de bon Dieu de bois!*, *Cré vingt Dieu de bon Dieu du tonnerre de Dieu (vingt = saint?)* à noter le manque d'accord de *Dieu*), ou le juron rabelaisien *le ventre bouef de bois* (où *bois* et *boeuf* dérivent de *Dieu*).

On peut très bien observer ce syncrétisme des jurons dans la spirituelle farce *Ùbu Roi* de Jarry: *de par ma merdre* (*madame de ma merdre, garçon de ma merdre*) sont évidemment des dérivés de *par la mère Dieu* se ressentant de *foutre, bougre*; qui se croisent devant nos yeux, cf. *fichtre de bigre* cité par Zöckler; *bouffre*, fém. *bouffesque*, est *bougre* + -f- de *foutre* (la forme *boufre* est signalée dans les patois par v. Wartburg, FEW, s.v. *bulgarus*). M. J. Orr remarque (*loc. cit.*): "... dans le mécanisme affectif des jurons, *diable, bougre et foutre* sont des pièces interchangeables."

Jarry a trouvé des formules de jurons appropriées à ses caractères, où se montre leur inconscient: le Père Ùbu, grippe-sou et gourmand s'il en fut, doit jurer, non par les variations usuelles et anodines de blasphèmes comme *sabre de bois, sac à papier, corbleu*, mais par *sabre à finances, cornefinance(s)*, *de par mon cheval à finances, corne-gidouille* (où *corne de ma gidouille* = *corps Dieu* + un dérivé de la forme de l'Ouest *gède, jade* "jatte," cf. Vendôme *gidelle* "gamelle"). Jarry respecte donc aussi bien les traditions patoises qu'il adapte les jurons au caractère, aux pensées intimes du personnage: le Père Ùbu pense à la "phynance" ou à la boustifaille.

J'ai montré dans un article de ZRPh, XLIV, 576, par des exemples tirés de comédies de moeurs espagnoles combien le milieu ou la situation influe l'homme qui jure: celui-ci se trouve dans la situation de Maître Pathelin qui ne sait plus distinguer entre *draperie* et *bergerie*—il mêle des éléments de la situation qu'il a devant les yeux, au patron traditionnel du juron que sa mémoire a retenu (type: *repistola!* au lieu de *repuneta!*, parce que l'individu parlant pense à un suicide). Sheridan dans ses *Rivals* a de même approprié les jurons à la situation: un personnage, qui prétend que "oath should be an echo to the sense" et appelle sa façon de jurer "oath referential" ou "sentimental swearing," dira *odd's whips and wheels!* quand il s'agit d'un voyage en diligence, *odd's blushes and blooms!* quand d'une jeune fille en fleur. Je ne sais pas si Brunot, *loc. cit.*, a entièrement raison de désigner comme factices les jurons révolutionnaires de Hébert, Lemaire, et d'autres contemporains, qui s'assimilent à la situation donnée: "Ce qui achève de donner l'impression du factice. . . , c'est que les auteurs ont calculé et choisi. Ils composent. Lemaire en particulier approprie ses jurons à son sujet. Un jour il parle finance, il jurera mille carillons d'écus. . . . Quand il en a aux distributeurs

de patrons scripturaux comme *roi des rois* ou *Dieu de majesté*, notre type *Dieu de Dieu*, *nom de nom* n'est pas resté cantonné dans le langage solennel, mais, précisément grâce à l'assonance qui frappait l'oreille, est "allé vers le peuple."<sup>21</sup> L'imagination populaire, plus bridée d'ailleurs en France<sup>22</sup> qu'en Italie et en Espagne, n'intervient que quand on n'est plus conscient du sens mystique.

Ce que les lignes qui précèdent démontrent avec toute la clarté désirable, c'est que pour expliquer même les façons de parler les plus basses dans nos langues européennes, l'historien de la religion

de papiers: 'Comment, m'écriai-je, vingt mille libelles!' . . . Qui ne voit que nous sommes en plein procédé de style?" Oui, mais qui ne voit également que c'est précisément la parlure populaire qui affectionne ces précédés de style—puisque peuple et style ne s'excluent pas et qu'il y a un "style peuple"? (Sur "Berufsflüche," des jurements appropriés à certaines classes ou professions—marins, etc.—cf. Zöckler, p. 20.)

<sup>21</sup> C'est donc une sorte d'imagination secondaire, qui s'épanche quand le frein logique s'est affaibli. Damourette-Pichon notent combien peu le français est porté vers la verve imprécatrice native (est-ce un jansénisme français, une haine du débridé, que ne partage pas l'Italien et qui est étrangère même à l'Espagnol, pourtant mesuré, qui se permet au moins des débauches d'imagination?): ou serait-ce que, en France, l'affaiblissement de la croyance religieuse enlève au jeu avec le tabou religieux son piquant? M. Mencken a constaté dans *American Speech*, XIX (1944), 241, une régression similaire de "profanity," alors que "obscenity" se maintient, dans les armées anglaise et américaine de cette guerre—c'est que les interdictions sexuelles sont aujourd'hui relativement plus intactes que les interdictions religieuses. Les *parbleu*, *morbleu*, *sapristi* du français sont des vocables anodins, à sens pétrifié. (Le fait même que le français a adopté une expression aussi abstraite que *nom de Dieu!*, alors que le juron italien parallèle *cospetto di Dio* [*> cáspta*, etc.] est clairement visuel, me semble caractéristique). A noter aussi la grammaticalisation des jurons français: le féminin dans *par la sang* dans Molière est bien expliqué par Damourette-Pichon d'après le type à la *légère*, à la *française*, à la *Louis XIV*, etc., ce qui correspond à une extinction du caractère affectif et à l'intégration du juron dans le système grammatical de l'adverbe. Il faut d'ailleurs expliquer de la même façon les féminins *saperlotte*, *saperlipopette*, *Mons al grosse morbluette* "grossièrement, sans façon," norm. à la *grosse morguienne* et toutes les formes du type *mordienne*, *sacredienne*, *vertudienne*, *barbedienne*, *pardienne*, qui dérivent de *di* (< *Dieu*) dont une forme euphémique est *Dien* (attestée p. ex. en Anjou) qui appelle à son tour *chien*, et ensuite *chiennne* par dérivation synonymique. (Je ne crois pas du tout à l'idée, si contraire à la sensibilité catholique, de M. Gelzer, *Arch. f. neu. Spr.*, CLIV, 103, que des couples comme *pardi-pardi(e)nne* s'expliqueraient par l'opposition du Christ et de la Vierge—ces deux personnalités n'apparaissent jamais comme le principe mâle opposé au principe féminin. Et M. von Wartburg, *s.v. deus*, a aussi écarté avec raison *Diana* de (*par*)*dinne*.)

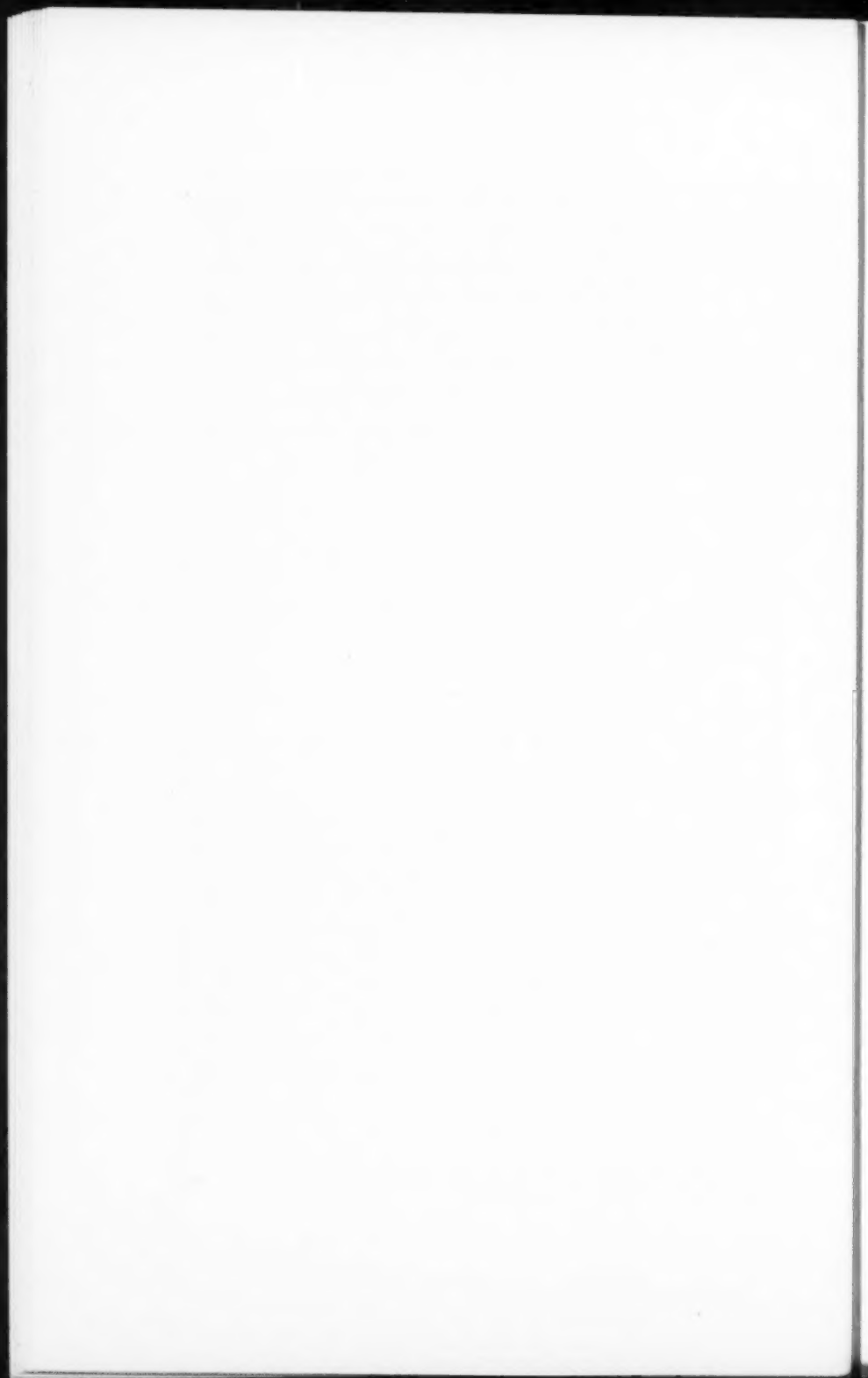
<sup>22</sup> Mais nous n'avons nulle raison de supposer qu'il en fut toujours ainsi: les anecdotes au sujet d'Henri IV (*ventre-saint-gris*, *jarnicoton*) sont bien connues. Je suppose que le sobriquet du roi de France Louis VII, *Poe-Dieu*, qui nous est transmis par le *ménestrel* de Reims, s'expliquera par un juron favori de ce souverain: il jurait par "la patte de Dieu" (anc. fr. *poe* "patte" > germ. \**panta*, all. *Pfote*)—avec cette représentation réaliste du corporel dans le martyre du Christ, que l'Eglise a encouragé quand il s'agit d' "exercices spirituels" sérieusement mystiques (on sait que saint Bernard a chanté les membres du Christ, et c'est l'origine de la littérature de blasons), mais banni quand un sadisme gratuit appuie davantage sur le côté *physique* du Christ souffrant que sur le *Christ* souffrant. Le compositeur Boildieu doit avoir eu un ancêtre qui jurait par la *boe* *Dieu*—pourquoi Louis VII n'aurait-il pas

doit s'allier avec le linguiste, car précisément les fioritures lexicales les plus fantaisistes se greffent sur des motifs traditionnels simples donnés par notre civilisation chrétienne. Le juron, *gesunkenes Kulturgut* par excellence, relève du folklore religieux, et la tentation diabolique et la parodie qui semblent s'être donnés le mot pour déformer le sacré, ne peuvent au fond que parler ce langage sacré, "bénir là où elles étaient venues pour maudire." Maugréer, c'est, pourtant et encore, être en harmonie avec le Seigneur. La Révolution, athée, en écrivant des monstruosité comme *sacré mille noms d'un réchaud de la divinité, nom d'un lapin rôti ou double nom d'un cabestan* (Brunot, *loc. cit.*, p. 182), a pourtant, comme le Malin ne fait qu'affirmer le principe du Bien, dû respecter un canon sacré plus que millénaire!<sup>23</sup>

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dit *par la poe Dieu*? La nuance grossière en moins, je peux citer le nom du duc autrichien de la dynastie des Babenberg *Heinrich Jasomirgott* (nommé d'après son juron *Ja so mir Gott [helfe]*). D'après *Mélusine*, IV, 380, les sobriquets en Berry proviennent souvent de jurons: on y entend des phrases comme "*Diable me brûle* est bien malade" "*Nom d'un rat* est à la foire." Les anciens rois français n'auront pas été plus raffinés que les paysans berrichons modernes.—L'explication qu'a tentée M. Schultz-Gora, *ZRPh*, LIII, 529, me semble beaucoup plus chimérique: *Poe-Dieu* ferait allusion à la bigoterie et à l'apparence peu imposante du roi en comparaison avec sa femme, cette célèbre Eléonore de Poitou, qui, pour obtenir le divorce, affirmait avoir épousé "un moine." Or puisque *poe* peut être *pava*, la paonne, et que la femelle du paon est plus petite que le mâle, un *\*pava Dei* pouvait, selon M. Schultz-Gora, assez bien indiquer en même temps la bigoterie et la piètre apparence du monarque. Mais comment imaginer une expression toute faite "paonne de Dieu"?

<sup>23</sup> Ogden-Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, p. 371, placent les jurements à un degré très bas de leur échelle psychologique: "They have only to satisfy the condition of appropriateness, one of the easiest conditions, at the low level of subtlety to which these emotional signs are developed. The only context required here would seem to be of the simplest order possible in psychology, as simple as the toothache-groan complex." Mais les jurements ne sont précisément pas identiques aux gémissements de la douleur physique: ces "signes émotifs" ont une structure rationnelle très précise.



## GANELON AND ROLAND

By ROBERT A. HALL, JR.

Students of the *Chanson de Roland* have usually felt compelled, in order to explain the hostility between Ganelon and Roland—the main-spring of the action in the poem—to assume a previously existing hatred between the two. This assumption is generally made because it seems difficult to explain otherwise the rapid and violent development of the quarrel. Various causes are presumed for this pre-existent hatred; Luquiens<sup>1</sup> and Vodoz<sup>2</sup> ascribe it to rivalry between stepson and stepfather; Jenkins<sup>3</sup> proposes Ganelon's envy of Roland's wealth; Bédier<sup>4</sup> says simply that "une haine obscure, ancienne . . . l'anime [Ganelon] contre son fillâtre."

However, a detailed discussion of the text, especially of verses 193-365 (the episode of the initial quarrel) will, I believe, show that: (1) such an assumption is unnecessary, as the development of the quarrel, even though sketched by the poet with rapid and bold strokes, is well founded psychologically in the characters of Roland and Ganelon as they are first presented; (2) the elimination of this assumption casts new light on the relation of Ganelon and Roland to each other and to the basic conception of the poem.

At the opening of Charlemagne's council (verses 168 ff.) to consider Marsile's peace offer, Roland advises continuation of the war (verses 193-213), and Ganelon heads the peace party in his plea (verses 214-19). In their initial speeches, the contrast between the two men is made very clear. Roland, as is well known, is bold to the point of recklessness, and is interested only in bringing the war to a successful fighting conclusion. Ganelon, in his counter-argument, is conservative, urges acceptance of peace when it is offered, and is a typical "appeaser" in setting love of life above possible death in further fighting:

Ki ço vos lodet que cest plait degetons,

Ne li chalt, sire, de quel mort nos morjons (verses 226-27).

He attacks Roland's desire for further fighting as *conseilz d'orgueill* (verse 228), and ends with an old saw:

<sup>1</sup> "The Reconstruction of the Original *Chanson de Roland*," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XV (1909), 114 ("Ganelon was a brave man and would have been a good man save for the one fatal flaw in his character—jealousy," and n. 5: "A step-father jealous of a step-son's greater fame").

<sup>2</sup> *Roland: Un Symbole* (Paris, 1920), pp. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> *La Chanson de Roland* (Boston, 1929). All quotations are from this edition, notes to verses 217, 287, and pp. xxv, xxix; also in "Why Did Ganelon Hate Roland?" *PMLA*, XXXVI (1921), 119-33.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Légendes Épiques*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1929), III, 413.

Laïssom les fols, as sages nos tenons ! (verse 229)

in the time-honored fashion of appeasers. The basic opposition in character between Ganelon and Roland is clearly that between conservative and radical, between peace party and war party, between "appeaser" and "warmonger."

After the war-weary Franks have approved Ganelon's opinion, seconded by Duke Naimon, advising acceptance of Marsile's offer (verses 230-44), the choice of ambassador to Marsile furnishes the occasion for the development of the opposition between Ganelon and Roland into an open break. As shown by the fate of Basan and Basile on an earlier mission (verses 207-13), this mission is so dangerous as to be almost certainly fatal; consequently, Charlemagne is absolutely unwilling to sacrifice any of his best men, and rejects their offers to go, with such emphasis that his reasons should be evident to all (verses 244-73). The resultant implication is that anyone chosen for this mission must necessarily be of second rank, and clearly "expendable." Roland, in nominating Ganelon for the mission, is probably unaware of this implication, and sincerely but tactlessly trying to give Ganelon an honor which he had wanted for himself but which the emperor has refused him;<sup>5</sup> in so doing, Roland reveals another of his basic traits, tactlessness and lack of perception of others' attitudes and feelings.

Ganelon's reaction, on being nominated by Roland for this mission and quickly approved by the Franks, is what might be expected of one who does not want to die prematurely and who (as we learn from verses 356 ff.) sets considerable store by his lineage and social standing:

E li quens Guenles en fu̇t molt angoissables (verse 280).

Ganelon is amazed at Roland's having named him for a task which is sure to end in death, all the more since Roland, his stepson, is the last one who should nominate him for a mission suited for one of obviously secondary rank:

Dist a Rodlant: "Tot fol, por quei t'esrages?

Co set hom bien que jo sui tis padrastre.

Si as jugiēt qu'a Marsile m'en alge?

Se Deus ço donet que jo de la repaidre

Jo t'en movrai une si grant contrarie,

Ki durerat a trestot ton edage!" (verses 285-91).

<sup>5</sup> It is not necessary to assume that Roland's use of the term *padrastre* (*Co dist Rodlanz: "C'iert Guenles, mis padrastre,"* verse 277) is anything but serious. Roland is sincere, but uncomprehending.

He said to Roland: 'You mad fool, why are you acting so insanely? It is well known that I am your stepfather [and hence do not deserve this treacherous blow at your hands]! So you nominated me to go to Marsile, did you? If God grant that I ever return from there, I will set in motion against you such a great feud as will last all your life!'

Roland again shows his lack of tact and understanding by interpreting Ganelon's outburst as mere bluster and empty talk (*orgueil . . . e folage*, verse 292) and cowardice (verses 293-94), and by offering to go in Ganelon's place (verse 295). To this, Ganelon's reply is, of course, that he is ready to go, as he owes feudal service, not to Roland, but directly to Charlemagne. Immediately thereafter, the idea of revenge takes further shape in Ganelon's mind, and he now thinks of it, not as something to take place after a somewhat doubtful return, but as a vengeance to be encompassed during his trip, and hence effective, even though he, Ganelon, may not survive:

'En Saragoce en irai a Marsile:  
Ainz i ferai un poi de legerie  
Que jo-n esclair ceste meie grant ire' (verses 299-301).

'I shall go to Marsile in Saragossa; nay more—I shall perform there a bit of foolishness, so that I may thereby lighten this great wrath of mine.'<sup>6</sup>

Roland callously and uncomprehendingly bursts out laughing (verse 302), at which Ganelon is almost apoplectically enraged (verse 303) and formally severs friendly relations with Roland, because the latter has brought upon him what he considers an undeserved condemnation:

E dist al conte: 'Jo ne vos aim niert:  
Sor mei avez tornét fals jugement!' (verses 306-307).

After some over-sentimental laments for his wife and his son Baldwin, which are thoroughly in character for the "appeaser" type, Ganelon publicly casts the *défi* against Roland and his twelve peers (whom he identifies with Roland and includes in his hatred), and refers pointedly to the fate of Basan and Basile under similar circumstances:

<sup>6</sup> This translation differs from the customary renderings of this passage by taking *ains* (verse 300) as the adversative adverb, and *n* (verse 301) as equivalent to *en* "thereby," and in giving the proper force to *i* in *ains i ferai* "nay more, there [i.e., in Saragossa] will I do. . ." Cf. Geddes' translation "mais j'y ferai quelque folie pour soulager cette grande colère" (*La Chanson de Roland, A Modern French Translation* [New York, 1906]).

This passage is of great importance psychologically, as it represents one step further in the development of the idea of revenge in Ganelon's mind. It is very significant that it comes right after Ganelon's mention of his feudal duty being to Charles, not to Roland. Of course he does not speak out all of his thought; but it is evident that these two verses represent the beginning of the idea that he can in some way turn his trip to Saragossa to advantage in pursuing his private vengeance against Roland. Certainly Ganelon is not being "apologetic" or "ashamed of his own flare-up" (Jenkins, note to verses 300-01).

'—Jo i puis aler mais n'i avrai guarant;  
Nul n'out Basilies ne sis fredre Basans' (verses 330-31).

In the rest of the scene, after the unlucky omen of Ganelon's dropping Charlemagne's glove (verses 332-36), Ganelon prepares to leave, regarded by his men as already sure of death ("tant mare fustes, ber!" verse 350), and departs.

The rapid growth of the quarrel is thus fully justified by the clash of these two temperaments in a situation in which the younger and more reckless man puts the older, more cautious and more attached to life, in a position where he is almost sure to lose both life and "face,"<sup>7</sup> and then adds insult to injury by offering to go in his stead and by ridiculing his anger.

Viewed in this light, and in the light of Roland's character as shown in the rest of the poem, the responsibility for the defeat at Roncesvaux and what led up to it is not merely Ganelon's, but Roland's as well, and in fully equal measure.<sup>8</sup> The immediate blame falls on Ganelon, for committing what is ethically (if not technically) treason to satisfy his own injured pride; but the underlying mistakes are Roland's. Roland's basic *ibpis* is exactly the opposite of Ganelon's; he is too contemptuous of life—not only of his own, but of others' as well—and, as a corollary, is too heedless of danger. This is evident in his warlike prowess and in his repeated refusals to have more men assigned to his rear guard (verses 787-89) or to call for help in time when attacked (verses 1053-58, 1062-69, 1073-81). He repeatedly refuses to accept either Charlemagne's or Oliver's advice. He is unable to understand that anyone might feel differently from himself, and so far misunderstands Ganelon's motive in nominating him to the rear guard as to be childishly pleased and to thank his stepfather as if for a great favor:<sup>9</sup>

'Sire padraestre, molt vos dei avoir chier' (verse 753).

<sup>7</sup> The reason which Ganelon gives at his trial for having hated Roland (*Rolans sorfist en or ed en avoir*, verse 3758), and on which Jenkins lays so much weight, is, therefore, either consciously or unconsciously a blind to cover up his basic reason—that Roland had sent him on a mission in which he was likely to lose his life and by which he was marked as inferior in importance and in value to Roland and the twelve peers—if, indeed, it is not a survival from an earlier version of the story.

<sup>8</sup> Roland's responsibility for the military defeat, due to his "desmesure," is of course very well known; but nowhere that I know of has his basic responsibility for the entire catastrophe, including Ganelon's treason, been sufficiently emphasized.

<sup>9</sup> It seems needless to assume that this verse is spoken in irony, an attitude quite beyond Roland's rather limited mental powers. It has been repeatedly pointed out that everywhere (save in *laisse* LX, which is of doubtful authenticity) Roland speaks only with the greatest respect when talking of or to his stepfather. Even to the very end, it is doubtful whether Roland really understands what he has done to render Ganelon hostile.

At the same time, he is over-sensitive to public opinion, directed against either himself or the extensions of his own personality in his family and nation (verses 758, 1014, 1054, 1062-64, 1073-76, 1089-91, 1466). This over-sensitivity, however, is always in response to what he thinks would be public opinion of cowardice on his part—he predicates the same standards for other people's judgment of himself as he holds for judging others. This over-sensitivity is clearly a reflection of his basic maladjustment, and a defense against the results of this insufficient socialization and self-centered incomprehension of others' natures.<sup>10</sup>

By acting in accordance with common sense, Roland would, as is made abundantly clear in the poem, have avoided disaster on at least three occasions: by taking greater care not to offend Ganelon at the outset, by accepting more men for his rear guard, and by calling for help in time when attacked. On all these occasions, Roland is led astray by his excessive contempt for life, by lack of understanding of others' psychology, and by over-sensitivity to public opinion. But he does not even understand that he has done anything wrong, until it is pointed out to him by Oliver, in a speech which for concentrated reproach and condemnation has few equals:

Co dist Rodlanz: 'Por quei me portez ire?'

E cil respont: 'Compainz,<sup>11</sup> vos lo feistes,

Kar vasselages par sens nen est folie:

Mielz valt mesure que ne fait estoltie.

Franceis sont mort par vostre legerie,

Jamais reis Charles de nos n'avrat servisie.

Se-m credissiez venuz i fust mis sire,

<sup>10</sup> By this analysis, we do not imply that Roland is a neurotic or an introvert. As pointed out by Professor Lurline V. Simpson (private communication), "Roland's references to public opinion and posthumous reputation are the superficial [and, I should add, mainly unconscious] rationalizing of the man of action who justifies his instinctive impulse by appeal to obvious norms."

The use of modern psychoanalytic terminology in this paper does not mean, of course, that we attribute this vocabulary or the corresponding technique of analysis to "Thuroldus." The last redactor of the poem, according to the hypothesis advanced in this paper, was faced with the problem of grafting a satisfactory explanation in terms of the protagonists' behavior, onto the traditional Roland legend. To do so, he ascribed to them actions and personalities which we can describe and interpret in modern terms.

<sup>11</sup> The emendation of *compainz* to *com* or *come proz*, made by Jenkins and others, is hardly necessary. Oliver's *compains*, *vos lo feistes* may perfectly well be interpreted as "Companion, you did this," with *lo* in demonstrative function (as is frequent in the *Roland*). A complimentary reference at this point would be wholly out of keeping with the strong condemnatory tone of the whole *laisse*. (There is no tenderness, no complimentary softening of the mood at any point in the *laisse*, such as most critics seem to have thought; its tone is one of unparalleled bitterness throughout, for which we have been prepared by Oliver's curt and violent abrogation of Roland's engagement to Alda at the end of the preceding *laisse*.)

Ceste bataille oüssom faite e prise,  
 O pris o morz i fust li reis Marsilies.  
 Vostre prodece, Rodlanz, mar la veðimes,  
 Charles li magnes de vos n'avrat aide;  
 N'iert mais tels hom desiqu'al Deu judisie;  
 Vos i morreiz e France en iert honide.  
 'Oi nos defalt la leial compaignie,  
 Ainz la vesprede iert grief la departide' (verses 1722-36).

Roland said: 'Why are you angry at me?' And Oliver answered: 'Companion, you have done this. After all, intelligent bravery is not the same as madness. Self-restraint is worth more than recklessness. Frenchmen have died because of your foolhardiness; King Charles will never again have feudal service from us. If you had heeded me, my lord would have come hither, we should have fought and won this battle, and King Marsile would have been either captured or killed. It was a bad day for us, Roland, when we saw that prowess of yours; Charles the Great will never more have service from us. There will never again be such a man [as you] from now until Judgment Day; but you will die here, and France will be shamed thereby [i.e., you have needlessly deprived France and the Emperor of your irreplaceable services].

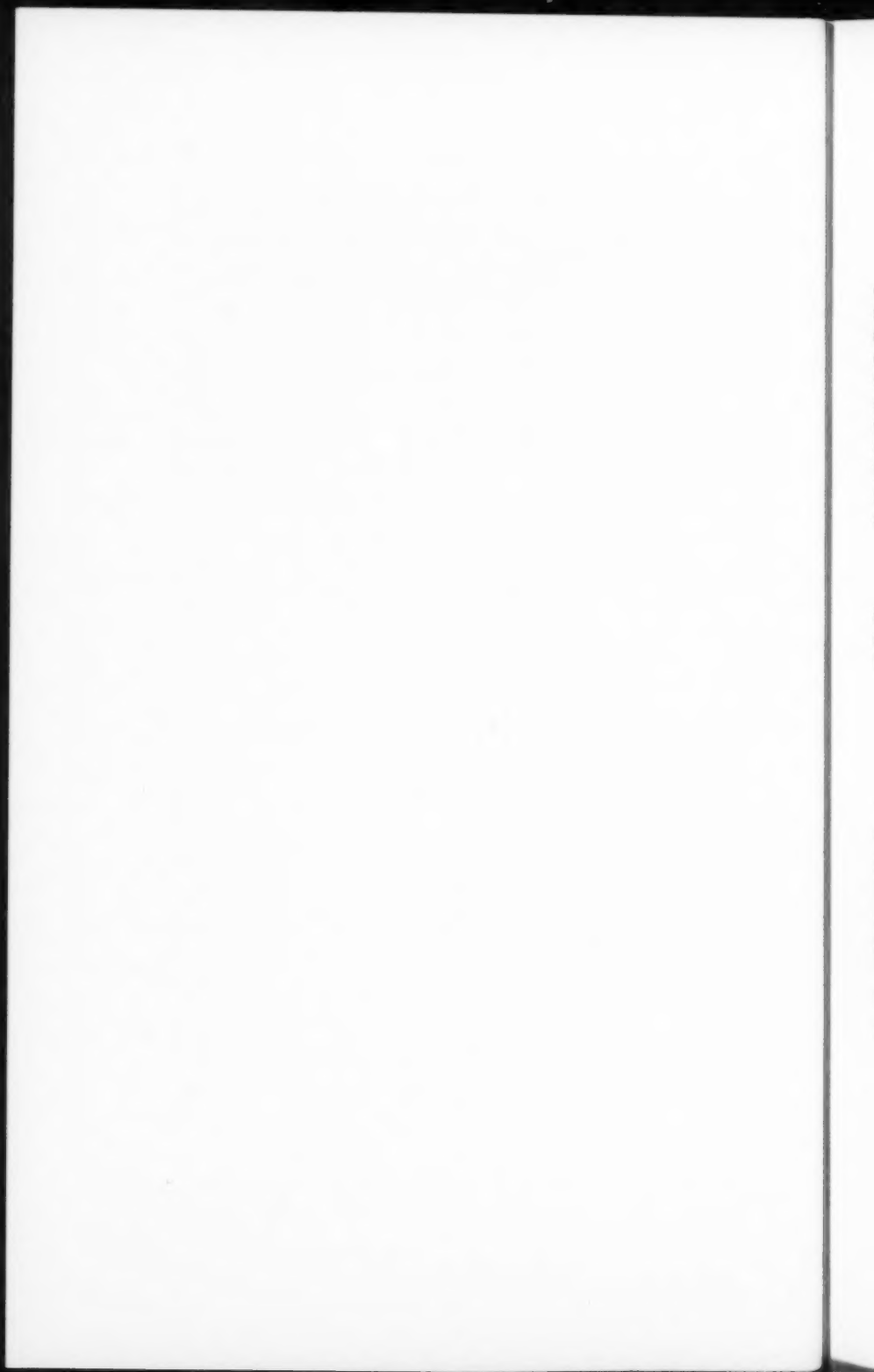
'Our le<sup>o</sup> companionship ends today; the parting will be sad before evening.'

Roland has, in short, achieved just the contrary of what he has aimed at. He had intended to be brave, by despising danger; he has only been foolhardy, and has fallen a victim to the danger and death he underestimated. He had intended to serve Charlemagne; by failing to perceive his own worth to Charles' and Christianity's cause, he has thrown himself away needlessly and deprived Charlemagne of his services. He had thought to avoid shame and criticism; he has brought dishonor on France by his waste of his own and twenty thousand Franks' lives. Moreover, these tragic errors are due, not merely to a surface "recklessness" or *desmesure*, but to basic flaws in Roland's character which led him to misunderstand his stepfather and to give the impulse that brought on the whole tragedy, in the very first scene in which he is introduced. He, like Ganelon, has set himself and his exaggerated attitude towards life above his duty to God and emperor.

These aspects of Roland's character are in sharp contradiction with the more traditional conception of Roland as a great, almost saintly warrior-hero and defender of Christianity, betrayed by a completely wicked and Judas-like Ganelon. The traditional conception is of course also in evidence in the *Chanson de Roland*, in numerous passages, especially in the episode of Roland's death (verses 2270-2396). It is this traditional conception which has been most in evidence during and since the Middle Ages, so much so as to have obscured our view of the psychology underlying Roland's actions as set forth in the *Chanson* itself, as we have attempted to point out.

Likewise, it is a reasonable assumption that the framework of traditional thematic material on which "Thuoldus" built in writing the *Chanson de Roland*—whether he simply developed and added material to an already existing poem, or re-worked and re-created it *in toto*—embodied the same traditional conception, with the elementary contrast between saintly hero and wicked villain as its main element. The poet's problem was then to provide a plausible basis for the action, with its foundation in the characters of the principal personages. Now the parts of the poem which show the greatest creative effort, the greatest terseness and concision in style, and the greatest dramatic tension are precisely those which we have discussed in this paper, and which furnish the psychological motivation and development of the action; it is at least likely that these parts were latest in origin, probably the contribution of the last redactor. Their addition may well represent the effort of "Thuoldus" to furnish a satisfactory motivation for the events which he had to narrate, even though they are somewhat in contradiction with the more naïve quasi-hagiographic aspects of the traditional conception of Roland which remained in the poem.

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## HENRYSON AND CHAUCER

By MARSHALL W. STEARNS

Some time ago Professors Neilson and Webster wrote: "It is doubtful whether there is in the whole of English literature a case of neglected genius so remarkable as that of Henryson."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, although Robert Henryson stands the highest among all of Chaucer's disciples, and his poem, *The Testament of Cresseid*, is, according to various critics, the best of all poems in the post-Chaucerian school, scholars have made little or no attempt to study this poet or to define his relationship with Chaucer.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the *Testament* is an announced sequel to the *Troilus and Criseyde* is well known,<sup>3</sup> but the nature of the Scot's obligation to his master has escaped comment. Perhaps the following note will clear the way for a discussion of this problem.

### I

Four characters who appear in the *Troilus and Criseyde* reappear in *The Testament of Cresseid*: Diomedes, Troilus, Calchas, and Cresseid.<sup>4</sup> There is no characterization of Diomedes in *The Testament of Cresseid* beyond that implied in the following lines (71-75):

Quhen Diomeid had all his appetyte,  
And mair, fulfillit of this fair Ladie,  
Upon ane uther he set his haill delyte  
And send to hir ane Lybell of repudie,<sup>5</sup>  
And hir excludit fra his companie.

<sup>1</sup> *Chief British Poets of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. W. A. Neilson and K. G. T. Webster (New York, 1916), Preface.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning Henryson's standing among Chaucer's disciples, see Aldous Huxley, *Essays New and Old* (New York, 1927), p. 272; W. E. Henley, "Robert Henryson," *The English Poets*, ed. T. H. Ward (London, 1880-1918), I, 138; and George Saintsbury, *A Short History of English Literature* (New York, 1929), pp. 183-84. Concerning the merit of the *Testament*, see G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 589, and A. Quiller-Couch, *Studies in Literature*, second series (Cambridge, 1919-1929), II, 269, 271. Henryson's editors (all of them Scots with the exception of Skeat) have come to admit the importance of Chaucer's influence, although they have made no effort to determine the extent of it. See David Laing, *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson* (Edinburgh, 1865), pp. xxi-xxii; G. G. Smith, *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, S.T.S. (Edinburgh, 1906-1914), I, xci; and H. H. Wood, *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson* (Edinburgh, 1933), p. xxxi. (Wood's text is used here.)

<sup>3</sup> See the *Testament*, lines 40 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Pandarus is not referred to by Henryson. Since the sequel takes up the story long after Pandarus has played his part in bringing the two lovers together, and since the scene is set in the Greek camp, there is no particular reason to mention him.

<sup>5</sup> "Lybell of repudie," i.e., *libellum repudii*, a bill of divorcement. See Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 45.

Diomedes's desertion of Cresseid is in keeping with Chaucer's characterization of "this sodein Diomedes" (V, 1024).<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, it is with a distinct shock—a shock that Henryson apparently had no desire to cushion—that the reader of Chaucer's poem becomes aware of the brutality of Diomedes's act in *The Testament of Cresseid*. The contrast with Criseyde's resolution to be true to Diomedes in the *Troilus and Criseyde* (V, 1071) is striking, since Henryson deprives her of the opportunity and tells us that she became a whore (lines 77, 80-83).

Troilus, in *The Testament of Cresseid*, plays the part of that colorless abstraction, the perfect gentleman, a part derived in great measure from Chaucer's characterization.<sup>7</sup> In her lament, Cresseid speaks of Troilus as follows (lines 547-48, 554-57):

'Thy lufe, thy lawtie, and thy gentilles,  
I countit small in my prosperitie, . . .

'For lufe,<sup>8</sup> of me thou kept gude continence,  
Honest and chaist in conversatioun.  
Of all women protectour and defence  
Thou was, and helpit thair opinioun. . . .'

These characteristics are more or less the conventional courtly-love attributes found in an expanded form in Chaucer.<sup>9</sup> Yet there is a change of emphasis. Henryson nowhere refers to the virtue of "secrecy" which Chaucer mentions,<sup>10</sup> but he does speak of "gude continence" (line 554), which Chaucer does not mention.<sup>11</sup> Further, Henryson contrasts the virtues of Troilus to the "Lustis Lecherous" and "fleschelic foull affectioun" of Cresseid (lines 558-59)—a contrast which Chaucer seems to avoid intentionally. Again, after the last meeting of the lovers in *The Testament of Cresseid*, Troilus is overtaken by symptoms common to courtly love (lines 512-18). These symptoms, although they may be found in Chaucer,<sup>12</sup> are compara-

<sup>6</sup> Professor Tatlock speaks of Diomedes's "obvious experience," and his "cool technique as seducer," dismissing Diomedes's avowal of lifelong fidelity to Criseyde as pretense and adding that "such is his cool-headedness in both poets that Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* shows the inevitable course of events in his tiring of her and abandoning her." See J. S. P. Tatlock, "The People in Chaucer's *Troilus*," *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 94-95.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Testament*, Troilus is thrice called "true" (line 546, 553, 560), twice "noble" (lines 132, 495), twice "worthy" (lines 42, 485), and once "gentle and free" (line 536). These epithets are for the most part found also in Chaucer: cf. *Tr.*: V, 831 (trewe); II, 319 (noble); V, 1056, 1075 (gentileste), *et passim*.

<sup>8</sup> The comma after "lufe" may be a misprint.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Tr.* III, 266 (protect name), 286 (keep tongue), 427 (self control), 1804-06 (flee vices), *et passim*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Tr.* III, 286, 294 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Chaucer does, however, speak of the "goode governaunce" of Troilus (III, 427) which may be glossed as self-control or good demeanor.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Tr.* I, 358 ff., 420, 441, and see W. G. Dodd, *Courtly Love in Gower and Chaucer* (Boston, 1913), pp. 3, 15 ff. Such symptoms occur so frequently in the *Troilus and Criseyde* that Professor Tatlock explains them

tively few and typical of romantic love in any age. The net effect is to make Troilus appear to be a little more manly.

Henryson modifies the character of Calchas considerably. Calchas is the priest of Venus in *The Testament of Cresseid*, not of Apollo as in the *Troilus and Criseyde*.<sup>13</sup> Since Cresseid's fate is the result of her blasphemy of Venus and Cupid, this innovation adds to the dramatic force of the later poem. For similar reasons, Henryson institutes a fundamental change by making Calchas and his daughter mutually sympathetic. Thus, after her desertion by Diomedes, Cresseid is received kindly by her father (lines 103-05):

Quod Calchas, 'douchter, weip thou not thairfor;  
Peraventure all cummis for the best;  
Welcum to me, thou art full deir ane Gest.'

Later, when Calchas learns that his daughter has become a leper, he is genuinely heartbroken (lines 372-78):

He luikit on hir uglye Lipper face,  
The quhilk befor was quhyte as Lillie flour,  
Wringang his handis oftymes he said allace  
That he had levit to se that wofull hour,  
For he knew weill that thair was na succour<sup>14</sup>  
To hir seiknes, and that dowblit his pane.  
Thus was thair cair aneuch betuix thame twane.

Upon Cresseid's decision to hide herself in the leper colony, she is taken there by Calchas, who "daylie sent hir part of his Almous" (line 392).

The extent to which Henryson is an innovator may only be appreciated in the light of the dislike that exists between Calchas and Criseyde in Chaucer,<sup>15</sup> and by the traditional antipathy between the

as follows: "First and last, even before his mistress' departure, he [Troilus] goes through the weakness, prostration, and agony . . . which in the main here reflect the social and literary tradition developed to flatter aristocratic women." See Tatlock, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>13</sup> See Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 522 (note to line 106).

<sup>14</sup> It may be that the poet is taking for granted the assumption that Calchas knew the symptoms of leprosy, for the duty of inspecting and reporting lepers often devolved upon the parish priest. See R. M. Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909), p. 59.

<sup>15</sup> In the *Tr.*, Criseyde's reception of the news of the exchange of prisoners is as follows (IV, 666-70):

The whiche tale anon-right as Criseyde  
Hadde herd, she, which that of hire fader roughte,  
As in this cas, right nought, ne whan he deyde,  
Ful bisily to Jupiter bisoughte  
Yeve hem meschaunce that this tretis broughte.

On leaving for the Greek camp, Criseyde suggests to Troilus that she trick her father by the promise of gold, and so procure her return. She speaks of Calchas as "ful of coveytise" (IV, 1369), as having a "coward herte" (IV, 1409), and as desiring her return only because of public opinion (IV, 1338 ff.).

two found in early versions of the story.<sup>16</sup> In *The Testament of Cresseid*, Calchas is a loving and beloved parent whose presence increases the pathos of Cresseid's downfall immeasurably. An example of this occurs in the scene where Cresseid, having just discovered that the gods have afflicted her with leprosy, is summoned gaily to dinner by her unknowing father (lines 358-64):

Be this was said ane Chyld come fra the Hall  
To warne Cresseid the Supper was reddy,  
First knokkit at the dure, and syne culd call:  
'Madame your Father biddis yow cum in hy.  
He hes mervell sa long on grouf ye ly,  
And sayis your prayers bene to lang sum deill:  
The goddis wait all your Intent full weill.'

The dramatic irony of Calchas' request to stop praying, since the gods know all Cresseid's thoughts very well, is furthered by the fact of their mutual affection. Glancing at her now loathsome face, Cresseid can appreciate the full irony of Calchas' loving summons.

Henryson simplifies the character of Criseyde. Like Chaucer, the Scot declares his own attitude toward his heroine. The older poet had written (V, 1095-99):

Hire name, allas! is punysshed so wide,  
That for hire gilt it outhte ynough suffise.  
And if I myghte excuse hire any wise,  
For she so sory was for hire unrouthe,  
Iwis, I wolde excuse hire yet for routhie.

In the same vein, and with a few of the same words,<sup>17</sup> Henryson writes (lines 84-91):

I have pietie thou suld fall sic mischance.

Yit nevertheless quhat ever men deme or say  
In scornfull langage of thy brukkilnes,  
I sall excuse, als far furth as I may,  
Thy womanheid, thy wisdom and fairnes;  
The quhilk Fortoun hes put to sic distres  
As hir pleisit, and nathing throw the gilt  
Of the, throw wickit langage to be spilt.

<sup>16</sup> From Benoit down, what may be arbitrarily called the "recrimination scene" appears in the various versions of the Troilus story. This scene usually occurs after the exchange of prisoners, and it consists of Criseyde reproaching her father for his treason to the Trojans while Calchas attempts to justify himself. There is no love lost between the two. See *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans (Paris, 1904-1912), II, 323-25; *Guido de Columnis Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. N. E. Griffin (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 165-66; *The "Gest Historiale" of the Destruction of Troy*, ed. G. A. Panton and D. Donaldson (London, 1874), pp. 263-65; and *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, ed. H. O. Sommer (London, 1894), II, 604-05. The *Laud Troy Book* omits this scene, and it is softened in the *Filostrato*, although Boccaccio invents the plot, which Chaucer adopts, to deceive Calchas. See *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. N. E. Griffin and A. B. Myrick (London, 1929), pp. 325, 331, 353, 363, 455.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Chaucer's "I wolde excuse" with Henryson's "I sall excuse," and see *Tr. IV*, 19-21.

Henryson goes further than Chaucer in his pity for Cresseid: he declares that Fortune is to blame and that Cresseid is guiltless.<sup>18</sup> But neither poet means to question the fact of her infidelity; they simply share a pardonable bias in favor of their heroine.<sup>19</sup>

In another instance, Henryson may be taking his cue from Chaucer more literally, for the latter poet has Criseyde prophesy her own fate (V, 1058-62):

Alas! of me, unto the worldes ende,  
Shal neyther ben ywriten nor ysonge  
No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende.  
O, rolled shal I ben on many a tonge!  
Thoroughout the world my belle shal be ronge!

In the *Testament*, the seven planets are called together to doom Cresseid by (lines 144-45)

Cupide the King ringand ane silver bell,  
Quhillk men nicht heir fra hevin unto hell; . . .

Thus Criseyde's prophecy comes to pass.

There are other more detailed parallels in connection with the character of Cresseid,<sup>20</sup> but in general Henryson is content to take her as he finds her in Chaucer, limiting himself to the characterization permitted by his bold change of plot. Troilus lives happily and Cresseid dies miserably. In the course of her downfall, Cresseid asserts herself but once, and then in a manner not unworthy of her Chaucerian self. Deserted even by Diomedes, she becomes a whore and falls to cursing her gods, Venus and Cupid. It is her last independent act, for her blasphemy brings down upon her the wrath of the gods and leprosy.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> It may be that Henryson, taking Cresseid's guilt for granted, found it easy to slip into the habit of blaming it all on Fortune, while Chaucer, with Criseyde's fall in progress, could not allow himself such wishful thinking.

<sup>19</sup> See Tatlock, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>20</sup> In the *Testament*, Cresseid mentions a ring and a brooch which Troilus gave her (lines 582-84, 589-91) and which may be found in Chaucer (*Tr.* III, 1368, 1370; V, 1661). There is no precedent, however, for Henryson's mention of a "Belt" (line 589), which may signify a chastity girdle. See Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 258 (note to line 589).

<sup>21</sup> Professor Rollins' assertion that Henryson's treatment of Cresseid "forever damned her as a loose woman" is misleading. See H. E. Rollins, "The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare," *PMLA*, XXXIII (1917), 397. Cresseid is liberally damned both before and after Henryson. Both Benoit and Guido, as well as Boccaccio, condemn her fiercely for her infidelity. It is rather in Chaucer and Henryson that the exception occurs. As Professor Tatlock says: "Originally of course this woman is nothing at all except a loose jilt" (*op. cit.*, p. 101). The credit for conceiving the punishment of leprosy is entirely Henryson's, and its general adoption by later writers (including Shakespeare) testifies to its poetic justice. This creative detail, however, does not account entirely for Cresseid's degradation. Cf. W. W. Lawrence, "The Love Story in 'Troilus and Cressida,'" *Shakespearean Studies* (New York, 1916), pp. 204-05.

The key to Henryson's variations in characterization, with the exception of Calchas, seems to be the later poet's inability or refusal to adopt the elements of courtly morality in Chaucer. The effect of the *Troilus and Criseyde* is to show "how infinitely appealing a woman notoriously to become faithless could be,"<sup>22</sup> and although Criseyde is blameworthy by any moral standard,<sup>23</sup> Chaucer hesitates to judge her. On the other hand, Henryson's sequel is conceived and written according to the standards of orthodox morality. The poet's application of these standards is consistent: brutally deserted by Diomedes, Cresseid sinks to the level of a prostitute; Troilus is chaste and he is described only by those courtly characteristics which are common to romantic love in any age. It is fitting, therefore, that Cresseid should die warning others to beware of infidelity, and that Henryson, unlike Chaucer,<sup>24</sup> should conclude his poem with an exhortation to women not to mingle love with false deception. *The Testament of Cresseid* presents the tragedy of one who is punished for the sin of lust.

## II

There is a new narrative pattern or plot in *The Testament of Cresseid* which makes the poem an independent dramatic whole. This plot may be arbitrarily described by the three-fold sequence of contract, crime, and punishment. The contract consists of an agreement between Cresseid and the gods of love which is revealed in the following lines (124-28, 136-38):

Upon Venus and Cupide angerly  
Scho cryit out, and said on this same wyse,  
'Allace that ever I maid you Sacrifice.

'Ye gave me anis ane devine responsaill  
That I suld be the flour of luif in Troy, . . .

'Ye causit me always understand and trow  
The seid of lufe was sawin in my face,  
And ay grew grene throw your supplie and grace.'

Cresseid, in return for "ane devine responsaill" made by Venus and Cupid that she would always be the flower of love in Troy, had showered devotion upon her chosen gods only to deplore that devotion when she thinks that they have failed her.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See Tatlock, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>23</sup> See C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), p. 184.

<sup>24</sup> Cf., however, *Tr.* V, 1772-85, where Chaucer in the lines preceding his epilogue concludes: "Beth war of men." Unable to condemn Criseyde, Chaucer twists the moral into the more comfortable channel of a warning to women to beware of men. This passage must have seemed as incongruous to Henryson as it does to the modern reader. See Tatlock, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere in the *Testament*, Cupid refers to Cresseid, "The quilk throw me was sum tyme flour of lufe" (line 279), while Cresseid speaks of Cupid and Venus as "my Goddis" (line 357).

Cresseid's crime, and the immediate cause of her downfall, is her blasphemy of the gods of love. Deserted by Diomeide, she feels that Venus and Cupid have not maintained their part of the contract (lines 129-35):

'Now am I maid ane unworthie outwaill,  
And all in cair translatit is my Joy,  
Quha sall me gyde? quha sall me now convoy  
Sen I fra Diomeid and Nobill Troylus  
Am clene excludit, as abject odious?

'O fals Cupide, is nane to wyte bot thow,  
And thy Mother, of lufe the blind Goddes!'

Cresseid places the blame squarely upon Cupid and his mother, whom she refers to slurringly as the blind goddess of love.<sup>26</sup> These words are termed blasphemy by Cupid before the seven planets and he demands punishment (lines 274-87):

'Lo' (quod Cupide), 'quha will blaspheme the name  
Of his awin God, outhir in word or deid,  
To all Goddis he dois baith lak and schame,  
And suld have bitter panis to his meid.  
I say this by yone wretchit Cresseid,  
The quilk throw me was sum tyme flour of lufe,  
Me and my Mother starklie can reprufe.

'Saying of hir greit Infelicitie  
I was the caus, and my Mother Venus,  
Ane blind Goddes, hir cald, that nicht not se,  
With sclander and defame Injurious;  
Thus hir leving unclene and Lecherous  
Scho wald returne on me and my Mother,  
To quhome I schew my grace abone all uther.'

Later in the poem Cresseid speaks of her "blaspheming" (line 354) and her "trespas" (line 370), while her crime is referred to as a "dispyte to Cupide" (line 304).

Cresseid's punishment is leprosy. Incensed by Cresseid's blasphemy, Cupid demands vengeance from the court of the seven planets (lines 288-94):

'And sen ye ar all sevin deificait,  
Participant of devyne sapience,  
This greit Injurie done to our hie estait  
Me think with pane we suld mak recompence;  
Was never to Goddes done sic violence.  
Asweill for yow, as for myself I say,  
Thairfoir ga help to revenge I yow pray.'

<sup>26</sup> In calling Venus a blind goddess, Cresseid may be adding insult to injury by deliberately confusing the time-honored attributes of the two gods. Cupid refers to it later with particular vehemence (lines 282-84), giving the impression that the poet used it intentionally. No precedent has been found for this ironic twist (in classical literature Cupid was rarely blind, although he became so in the Middle Ages). The subject is discussed by E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1939), pp. 95-128.

Cresseid's punishment follows swiftly (lines 304-08):

For the dyspyte to Cupide scho had done,  
And to Venus oppin and manifest,  
In all her lyfe with pane to be opprest,  
And torment sair, with seiknes Incurabill,  
And to all lovers be abhominabill.

Cresseid becomes virtually the opposite of what she was before. Not only are the charms promised by Cupid and Venus withdrawn, but she is cursed also with a malady that makes any romantic love impossible. It is a short step from here to her last, poignant meeting with the unknowing Troilus and her inglorious death.

Henryson's use of the sequence of contract, crime, and punishment for the plot of *The Testament of Cresseid* is not entirely original. Isolated elements of the sequence may be found in a variety of sources preceding the *Testament*, but virtually the only example of the sequence as a whole occurs in Chaucer's *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan* (especially lines 1 to 28, and 49). Chaucer there uses the sequence of contract, crime, and punishment with humorous intent to describe a trivial occurrence. The contract is evident in the assertion that Cupid "wol no lenger be thy lord."<sup>27</sup> Scogan had been devoted to the gods of love until he discovered that he was not attaining success in return, for his "lady sawgh nat" his distress. Scogan's crime is that he defied "Love" in general, and stated that he gave up his lady at Michaelmas in particular.<sup>28</sup> It is referred to as "blaspheme of the goddes," an "offence," and "thilke rebel word" which "in the lawe of love forbode is." Scogan's motive is "pride" or "grete rekelnesse." The effect of the crime is to break the "statutz hye in hevene" (the

<sup>27</sup> The contract between the lover and the gods of love is bilateral, i.e., the lover must be devoted to his gods, and the gods must reward the lover. The former concept is a commonplace, a typical example of which occurs in *The Court of Love*. See Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 417 (lines 304-07). An explicit statement of what the gods of love will do for the lover is not as common, although it is often implied. In the *Confessio Amantis*, for example, Progne prays to Cupid and Venus for revenge, citing her own faithfulness, and her prayer is granted (*The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay [Oxford, 1899-1902], III, 105 ff.). Again, in the *Kingis Quair* of James I, Venus tells the lover to continue in her service, worship her law, and magnify her name, in return for which she will multiply his comforts on earth and give him eternal life with her when he dies (*The Kingis Quair* . . . ed. A. Lawson [London, 1910], p. 63).

<sup>28</sup> The complaint to the gods of love is conventional enough, although it seldom attains the level of blasphemy and virtually never follows an explicit contract or incurs an immediate punishment. In Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*, the god of love is accused in round terms of a variety of faults, but no punishment follows (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. McCracken [London, 1911-1934], II, 401 ff.). In *The Fall of Princes*, Canace blames her fate upon Cupid at some length and goes unharmed. See *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. H. Bergen (Washington, D. C., 1923-1927), I, 197 ff.; see further the *Confessio Amantis*, Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 39 ff. In the *Kingis Quair*, however, James I mentions certain lovers who are unhappy "for dispite" (a word used by Henryson). See Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

rules of courtly love?), to cause Venus and the "bryghte goddis sevene" to weep, and to drive Cupid to repudiate Scogan "in skorn." The punishment is a "diluge of pestilence,"<sup>29</sup> the fact that Cupid will no longer aid Scogan, and the possibility (suggested but denied) that Cupid will take revenge with his bow and arrows.<sup>30</sup>

There are further parallels between Chaucer's piece to Scogan and Henryson's *Testament* that deserve notice: Scogan's crime is "blaspheme of the goddes," while Cresseid refers to her crime as "blaspheming," a word also used by Cupid; Scogan is blamed "for his tonge" and Cresseid for her "fraward langage"; Chaucer speaks of the planets as the "goddis sevene" and Henryson calls them the "Goddess sevin." A more general parallel occurs in the parts played by the gods in both poems: Cupid plays an active role and Venus plays a passive one.<sup>31</sup> In *Scogan*, Cupid scornfully records the rebel words and possesses the bow and arrows to inflict punishment while Venus simply weeps in distress. In the *Testament*, Cupid assembles the court of the planets and prosecutes the case while Venus merely appears at the assembly. Yet it is clear that the offense to Venus is great, and both poets make the point that all the gods have been injured. A final and elusive similarity between *Scogan* and the *Testament* may be found in Chaucer's ambiguous reference to Scogan as the cause of a "diluge of pestilence." Whatever Chaucer may have meant, this pun-

<sup>29</sup> This allusion may refer to a contemporary epidemic of the plague or (more likely) heavy rains. See F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), pp. 978-79.

<sup>30</sup> The punishment of lovers by the gods of love is a common occurrence although it is not found in the sequence under discussion. That Venus takes prompt revenge when annoyed is a concept found in Ovid and others. See *Ars Amatoria*, II, 397-98. This mythological commonplace should be distinguished, however, from the medieval goddess of love who punishes her feudal subjects. An example of the latter occurs in Gower's tale of Rosiphelee, but the punishment is not caused by blasphemy. See Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 334 ff. Similar examples may be found in Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*. The implied concept that the gods of love are all-powerful is very common.

<sup>31</sup> Cupid, the "lascive puer" of Ovid, who is called the "arma manusque meae, mea, nate, potentia" of Venus (*Met.* I, 456; V, 365) became variously related to Venus in the literature preceding Henryson. In the *Romance of the Rose*, Venus is the goddess of sensual love as opposed to her son's connection with *l'amour de coeur* (*Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. E. Langlois [Paris, 1914-1924], III, 173 ff.). For comment on these lines, see Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 121, and W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love* (Boston, 1899), p. 55. In Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Cupid is almost entirely subordinated to Venus. See W. G. Dodd, *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower* (Boston, 1913), pp. 45-46. In the *Kingis Quair* of James I, the distinction is made that Cupid wounds while Venus cures (Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 54). In Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*, Venus and Cupid are referred to as a double deity (MacCracken, *op. cit.*, II, 401). In *The Court of Love*, they are called god and goddess (Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 410). A discussion of the iconology of Cupid may be found in Panofsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-128.

ishment for Scogan's blasphemy is suggestively similar to Cresseid's punishment of leprosy.<sup>32</sup>

On the whole, the plot of *The Testament of Cresseid* is an independent dramatic unit which may owe something to a minor and otherwise irrelevant poem of Chaucer's.<sup>33</sup> For *The Testament of Cresseid* is no mere revision of the close of the *Troilus and Criseyde* with the fate of the hero and heroine reversed. It is a complete story in itself and, if the Scot borrowed the narrative pattern from *Scogan*, he adapted and amplified his borrowing with considerable skill and resourcefulness.

### III

The opening lines of *The Testament of Cresseid* may shed further light upon the relationship of Chaucer and Henryson. The Scot calls his poem a "tragedie," i.e., a fall from felicity to misery, and proceeds to treat his subject matter accordingly (lines 1-21):

Ane doolie sessoun to ane cairfull dyte  
Suld correspond, and be equivalent.  
Richt sa it wes quhen I began to wryte  
This tragedie, the wedder richt fervent,  
Quhen Aries, in middis of the Lent,<sup>34</sup>  
Schouris of haill can fra the north discend,  
That scantlie fra the cauld I nicht defend.

Yit nevertheles within myne oratur  
I stude, quhen Titan had his bemis bricht  
Withdrawin down, and sylit under cure  
And fair Venus, the bewtie of the nicht,  
Uprais, and set unto the west full richt  
Hir goldin face in oppositioun  
Of God Phebus direct descending down.

(10)

<sup>32</sup> There are other examples of sickness and pestilence decreed by the gods in the literature preceding Henryson, but they offer no sustained analogy to the *Testament*. In Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, the fact that Azariah was made a leper because of his pride is mentioned in passing. See Bergen, *op. cit.*, II, 649. In the same poem, the story of Laodamia's death which brings a pestilence upon her murderers is recited briefly (*ibid.*, II, 592). The most interesting analogy to Henryson occurs in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, where the story of "Crisseide, douhter of Crisis" is narrated. See Macaulay, *op. cit.*, III, 124 ff.

<sup>33</sup> One other less relevant version of the sequence of contract, crime, and punishment occurs in the *Troilus and Criseyde* when Troilus falls in love. The sequence is inverted: Troilus commits the crime of mocking at love and lovers; he is punished by falling deeply in love; by promising complete devotion to the gods of love he is granted success in love. See *Tr.* I, 197-205, 206-09, 526-29, 936-38; II, 522-32, 680-83.

<sup>34</sup> Literally, this line indicates a date in the first week of April. See Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

Throw out the glas<sup>38</sup> hir bemis brast sa fair  
 That I nicht se on everie syde me by  
 The Northin wind had purifyt the Air  
 And sched the mistie cloudis fra the sky,  
 The froist freisit, the blastis bitterly  
 Fra Pole Artick come quhisling loud and schill, (20)  
 And causit me remufe aganis my will.

By introducing his poem with a reference to the time of year and a description of the weather, Henryson is employing a common device in medieval literature.

The typical elements of this device occur at the opening of the *Roman de la Rose* (lines 47, 80, 124-25):<sup>39</sup>

Qu'en mai estoie, ce sonjoie, . . .  
 Por le tens bel e douceus; . . .  
 Clere e serie a bele estoit  
 La matinee e atempree.

Similar passages are found in Old French love-visions,<sup>37</sup> in the works of Chaucer,<sup>38</sup> and in post-Chaucerian poems.<sup>39</sup> In general, the device consists of a description of a pleasant day in May which occurs within a vision or dream after the poet has fallen asleep.<sup>40</sup>

Henryson's use of the device forms a sharp contrast: the season is wintry (he says) to correspond with the mood of a sorrowful poem, and he describes a hailstorm from the north in impressive detail. By so doing, the poet simply parallels the appropriateness of a May morning to a love-vision. Further, he discards the dream framework and speaks in terms of a present experience with some attention to the details of his immediate surroundings: he is standing within his

<sup>35</sup> Contrary to a notion occasionally met with, it is probable that the poet was acquainted with glass windows. See Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 44.

<sup>36</sup> *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. E. Langlois (Paris, 1914-1924), II, 3, 5, 7. Cf. Chaucer's *Romaunt*, lines 51, 84, 130-31.

<sup>37</sup> A convenient analysis of several Old French love-visions may be found in W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame* (London, 1907), pp. 1-6. Five of the seven poems specify spring weather, leading Professor Sypherd to conclude that it is a conventional device.

<sup>38</sup> In Chaucer's *BD*, he states that it is May (line 291) and the weather is temperate (lines 341-42); in the *PF*, he says the day is clear (line 210) and the air temperate (lines 204-05); in the prologue to the *LGW*, he remarks several times that it is the month of May (*F*, lines 36, 108, 176).

<sup>39</sup> Typical examples of post-Chaucerian poems naming the month of May and describing suitable weather are: *The Complaint of the Black Knight* (MacCracken, *op. cit.*, II, 382); *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* (Skeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 347 ff.); *The Kingis Quair* (Lawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 35); and the *Confessio Amantis* (Macaulay, *op. cit.*, II, 38). Other poems in the same tradition but with less detail are: *The Flower and the Leaf* (Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 361); *Reson and Sensuallyte* (Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ed. E. Sieper [London, 1901], p. 3); *The Floure of Curtesye* (MacCracken, *op. cit.*, II, 410); and *The Temple of Glas* (Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, ed. J. Schick [London, 1891], p. 1). This list makes no pretense of being complete.

<sup>40</sup> So in *Le Roman de la Rose* and Chaucer's *BD* and *PF*, as well as in many post-Chaucerian poems.

oratory as Venus with her "goldin face" shone "throw out the glas," and looking outside, he sees that the wind has "purifyit the Air and sched the mistie cloudis fra the sky." One is struck immediately with the resemblance of these details to those in a passage from Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* (lines 335-38, 340, 343):

My wyndowes were shette echon,  
An throgh the glas the sonne shon  
Upon my bed with bryghte bemes,  
With many glade gilde stremes; . . .  
Blew, bryght, clere was the ayr,  
Ne in al the welken was no clowde.

Both poets describe themselves as being indoors, gazing out upon the clear air and cloudless sky, through a glass window which is admitting bright beams of light.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no earlier model for Chaucer's lines, and Henryson could not have hit upon a similar description elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> It appears that in the course of adapting the May-day device to a "cairfull dyte" with suitably wintry weather, Henryson borrowed a few lines from Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* and transformed a conventional device to suit his Scottish landscape.

#### IV

A more elusive example of Chaucer's influence on Henryson may be suggested by a comparison of the poets' attitudes toward love. In the lines following his description of the weather, the Scot says that he left his "oratur" (lines 22-35):

For I traistit that Venus, luifis Quene,  
To quhome sum tyme I hecht obedience,  
My faidit hart of lufe scho wald mak grene,  
And thereupon with humbill reverence,  
I thoctt to pray hir hie Magnificence;  
Bot for greit cald as than I lattit was,  
And in my Chalmer to the fyre can pas.

<sup>41</sup> No comment on Chaucer's lines has been discovered. In general, the post-Chaucerians who preceded Henryson do not describe the poet's surroundings until after the poet thinks he is awake and goes into some grove or meadow, as in *Le Roman de la Rose* (Langlois, *op. cit.*, II, 2). See *The Complaint of the Black Knight* (MacCracken, *op. cit.*, II, 383 ff.), *The Flour of Curtesye* (Skeat, *op. cit.*, 267), *Reson and Sensuallyte* (Sieper, *op. cit.*, p. 3), *The Assembly of Gods* (ed. O. L. Triggs, [London, 1896], p. 2), *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* (Skeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 347 ff.), and *The Flower and the Leaf* (*ibid.*, p. 361). This is also true of the *PF*, lines 120 ff. Occasionally the poet awakes in a forest. See *HF*, lines 119 ff., *LGW*, prologue, *F*, lines 209 ff., and *The Temple of Glas* (Schick, *op. cit.*, p. 1). An exception is James I's *Kingis Quair*, where the poet mentions the light coming through his window (see Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 39), but there is little more resemblance to Henryson. It is probable that James I was imitating the same passage in Chaucer less effectively, and it may be that James I's use of this single detail had some part in bringing Chaucer's passage in the *Book of the Duchess* to Henryson's attention.

Thocht lufe be hait, yit in ane man of age  
 It kendillis nocht sa sone as in youtheid,  
 Of quhome the blude is flowing in ane rage,  
 And in the auld the curage doif and deid,  
 Of quhillk the fyre outward is best remeid;  
 To help be Phisike quhair that nature faillit  
 I am expert, for baith I have assailit.

This sprinkling of courtly phrases in a passage of distinctly uncourtly flavor is rather curious. The poet places the time of his service to Venus in the past, and adds that the great cold prevents him from praying. He then proceeds to comment in some detail upon the fact that old age makes love difficult of performance, and prescribes a medicine which he has found to be helpful in cases where Nature fails.

There is not much doubt that Henryson is referring, with some humorous self-disparagement, to his own inability to make love. This attitude is so at odds with the courtly tradition that the reader may be justified in assuming that when the poet says he formerly served Venus, he means that he had experienced physical passion in his youth. As a whole, the passage gives the impression of having been written by one who thinks in terms of orthodox morality although he is acquainted with the terminology of courtly love.

Chaucer's attitude toward love may have some bearing on this passage in the *Testament*. In general, Chaucer disavows activity in the affairs of love, stating that he merely serves the servants of love and implying that he is too old to participate.<sup>42</sup> The only major exception to this attitude occurs in the *Book of the Duchess*,<sup>43</sup> where Chaucer complains of sleeplessness and adds (lines 34-40):

Myselven can not telle why  
 The sothe; but trewly, as I gesse,  
 I holde hit be a sicknesse  
 That I have suffred this eight yeer,  
 And yet my boote is never the ner;  
 For there is phisicien but oon  
 That may me hele; but that is don.

We are on hazardous ground, but it may be suggested that it seems clear that Henryson might take these lines to mean that the older poet had been unable to enjoy love for eight years.<sup>44</sup> Such a matter-of-

<sup>42</sup> I have attempted a brief analysis of Chaucer's attitude toward love and attendant problems in my sketch, "A Note on Chaucer's Attitude toward Love," *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 570-74.

<sup>43</sup> But cf. *LGW* (F), lines 56-59, 105-06.

<sup>44</sup> Chaucer says that he has suffered for eight years, that only one physician (Love) can cure him, but that that time has passed. These lines have been interpreted as referring to Chaucer's unrequited love for Joan of Kent, as an indication of the poet's unhappy marriage, as an entirely conventional and meaningless statement, and so on. I have suggested elsewhere that the poet may have been making known his own respect for the duchess by a common literary gesture. See the reference to *Speculum*, *supra*, n. 42.

fact interpretation would well accord with Chaucer's usual disavowal of activity in the affairs of love and his remarks concerning old age. Viewing Chaucer's attitude in the light of orthodox morality, Henryson makes similar comments on the subjects of love and age, amplified by a sympathetic diagnosis of and prescription for such a condition. In brief, the Scot's lines on love may be the approximate equivalent of Chaucer's, as interpreted by a poet living in comparative isolation a century later.<sup>45</sup>

## V

There are other more literal and minute borrowings from Chaucer in *The Testament of Cresseid*,<sup>46</sup> but the examples already mentioned illustrate the relationship of the two poets in general. It is clear that in the matters of characterization, narrative pattern, and many other details in the presentation and treatment of the *Testament*, Henryson was directly and deeply influenced by Chaucer. The Scot's borrowings are seldom servile imitations, however, and even his use of conventional devices is characterized by considerable originality. The impression of freshness and creative independence which Henryson's verse conveys is confirmed by a comparison of the *Testament* with the works of the Scot's acknowledged master, for Henryson presents the paradox of the successful poet whose poetry is at the same time largely derivative and highly original.

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<sup>45</sup> No court poet, Henryson was writing a sequel to a poem of a former age and of a virtually foreign country. To arrive at an exact understanding of Chaucer's meaning might have been more difficult for the Scot than it is for modern scholars who are still in disagreement on the subject.

<sup>46</sup> Some of the details of Cresseid's lament (lines 416-20) owe something to the *LGW* (lines 1106-11, 1122); Cresseid's swooning (lines 538-41, 544-46) duplicates a few lines in *Anel* (lines 169-70, 174-75), which has the same stanza as Cresseid's complaint; cf. further, *Testament*, lines 113-14, with *SqT*, lines 294-96 and *Tr. I*, 162-63; *Testament*, lines 411, 465, with *Anel*, lines 242, 197 respectively. There are many minor details in the Scot's portraits of the seven planets which may be found in Chaucer: for Saturn's weapons (lines 166-67) see the *Gen. Prol.* to the *CT*, lines 104-05, 108; for Jupiter's benign nature (lines 173-79) cf. *Rom.*, lines 539-44, 548, 562-63, 565-66, 569-70, 573-74, 581; for the armor of Mars (lines 186-88) see *Mars*, lines 95-101; for the character of Venus (lines 218-38) see the *BD*, lines 617-20, 626-49; and for Mercury's characteristics (lines 246-50) cf. *Gen. Prol.* to the *CT*, lines 411, 422, 425-26. (The abbreviations for Chaucer's works are those adopted by Professor Robinson.)

GEOFFREY FENTON'S *HISTORIE OF GUICCIARDIN*  
AND HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLES OF 1587*

By JEANNETTE FELLHEIMER

Francesco Guicciardini, famous Italian political historian (1483-1540), is included in the list of authors from whom Holinshed drew material for the first edition of his *Chronicles* (1577), but the *Storia d'Italia* is never cited. There are, however, numerous references to Guicciardini in the enlarged *Chronicles of 1587*. Page numbers, given by the contemporary editors, are all to Geoffrey Fenton's translation, *The Historie of Guicciardin*, which had appeared in 1579,<sup>1</sup> eight years earlier.

The *Storia d'Italia*, divided into twenty books,<sup>2</sup> has as its subject the period between 1492 and 1534, the one from the death of Lorenzo de' Medici to the accession of Paul III to the papacy. Guicciardini records with remarkable objectivity the complicated history of this epoch which may be considered that of the tragedy of Italy. The period was rich in colorful figures, and in his detailed study of character and motive Guicciardini sought to trace the explanation of historic events. He was cynical about the mass of men and exhibited human imperfections with considerable relish, sparing neither popes, kings, nor princes, whose motives and aims he discussed with great penetration. His analysis gave him an opportunity to indulge in numerous maxims and reflections.

Fenton did not translate directly out of the Italian, but from the French version of Jérôme Chomedey, which was published in 1568 and republished with corrections in 1577. Chomedey was faithful to his text; Fenton, on the other hand, took considerable liberties with his intermediary. An ardent nationalist, he contrived by omissions and additions to deprecate foreign nations and to increase the glory of his own. A zealous Protestant, he inserted anti-Catholic sentiments and enlarged upon Guicciardini's outspoken remarks concerning the popes and the papacy. An inveterate moralizer, he voiced his disapproval of Italian subtlety and treachery as practiced by a Borgias or a Sforza, and had much to say on the role of Fate and Fortune. Fenton's changes were not limited to subject matter; he sought to embellish the style of his original by means of rhetorical elaborations.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A second edition of the *Historie* appeared in 1599, and a third, with some additional matter, in 1618.

<sup>2</sup> The first sixteen books of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* were published in 1561 at Florence, the last four books, in 1564 at Venice.

<sup>3</sup> For a thorough examination of Fenton's literary methods, see R. B. Gottfried, *Geoffrey Fenton's "Historie of Guicciardin"* (Indiana University, 1940).

There are forty-eight references to Guicciardini in the enlarged Holinshed's *Chronicles* of 1587, and, as has been pointed out, the editors in every case used Fenton's *Historie of Guicciardin*.<sup>4</sup> Forty-five references are to pages,<sup>5</sup> two to books,<sup>6</sup> and in one instance the reader is told "to see after in the extract out of Guicciardine"<sup>7</sup>—the extract being given on the following page. Abraham Fleming, the editor responsible for the majority of these excerpts, pays tribute to Guicciardini in connection with an account "touching the accord of peace betweene England and France" in April, 1515. "You shall heare the report of Guicciardine," writes Fleming, "which to this place maketh passage to knowledge, as oile giueth maintenance of light to the lampe."<sup>8</sup>

The Chronicle turned to Guicciardini chiefly for the designs and character of the popes and for French affairs. The selections devoted to things French, eighteen in number, deal for the most part with wars and diplomacy, with special attention to relations between France and England. There are also character portraits of three French kings, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I. Only the excerpts from the *Historie* on the Battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525), show Fenton deviating to any considerable extent from his author. While he follows his source in his description of the actual battle, he amplifies the account of its disastrous consequences. At the beginning of Book 16 Guicciardini tells the reader that the French army was destroyed, Francis I captured, and his most illustrious commanders taken prisoners or killed.<sup>9</sup> The report of these events provided Fenton with an opportunity for commenting upon the tragic significance of each of them, and he appears to exult at the extent of the French disaster.<sup>10</sup> In a like spirit he enlarges upon Guicciardini's description of the consternation in France after the defeat became known.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This article makes use of the following editions: for the first sixteen books of Guicciardini's Italian, *La historia di Italia* (Florence, 1561), and for the last four books, *Dell' historia d' Italia . . . gli ultimi quattro libri* (Venice, 1564); for Chomedey's French version, the *Histoire des guerres d'Italie*, 2 vols. (Lyons, 1577); for Fenton's English version, *The Historie of Guicciardin* (London, 1579); and for Holinshed, *The First and Second [and Third] Volumes of Chronicles*, 3 vols. in 4 (London, 1587). In footnotes, "H" indicates Holinshed's *Chronicles*; "F," Fenton's translation; "C," Chomedey's version, and "G," the original Italian. "G" followed by "sig." refers to the volume containing the first sixteen books of the *Storia*; "G" followed by "p." to that containing the last four books.

<sup>5</sup> In all but four instances (H, III, 902, 903, 905, and 910), excerpts are given.

<sup>6</sup> H, III, 893, 900.

<sup>7</sup> H, III, 845.

<sup>8</sup> H, III, 834.

<sup>9</sup> G, sig. [FFF6]v; C, II, 483.

<sup>10</sup> H, III, 885; F, p. 904.

<sup>11</sup> H, III, 886; F, p. 925 (cited as 625 by H); C, II, 512-13; G, sig. HHH<sup>o</sup>.

A long passage on the conduct of Louise of Savoy during the imprisonment of her son, Francis I, in Spain, includes an account of her negotiations with Henry VIII, of special interest because of Guicciardini's comment on the influence exerted by the ambitious Wolsey,

who seemed to restraints the king and his thoughts to this principall end, that bearing such a hand vpon the controuersies and quarrels that ran betweene other princes, all the world might acknowledge to depend vpon him and his authoritie the resolution and expectation of all affaires.<sup>12</sup>

The Chronicle has the marginal annotation: "Note how forren chroniclers could report of cardinall Woolsie." The remaining selections on the aftermath of Pavia deal with Francis' fortunes in captivity and the terms of the Treaty of Madrid "touching the deliuerie of the French King." In marginal notes attention is called to the role played by Henry VIII in the matter of Francis' release: "The king of England the procurer of the French kings libertie";<sup>13</sup> "The king of England alledged by the French king as a president of humanitie in the case of a captiue king."<sup>14</sup>

The excerpts from the *Historie* concerning the popes are of much greater interest than those chosen to illustrate French history. They offer a number of examples in which Fenton not only translates, but also places his own stress on what the *Storia* reported to the discredit of Alexander VI, Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII.

The majority of Elizabethan readers acquainted with the *Storia* must have been familiar with the volume through the medium of Fenton's translation. The *Chronicles*, which were much more widely distributed than the *Historie of Guicciardin*, made the conduct of Renaissance popes familiar to a much wider audience. Its editors, whose hatred of Catholicism is evident in every portion of the work, saw fit, moreover, to add occasionally to Fenton's strong condemnation of these popes as representatives of this hated system.

Guicciardini discussed at length the pontificate of Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia), elected in 1492, and the enormities of the Borgias. The first mention of the notorious Alexander in the *Chronicles* occurs in connection with the choice of his successor, Pius III (Francesco Piccolomini), to celebrate whose elevation to the papacy in September, 1503, ambassadors were sent to Rome by Henry VII.<sup>15</sup> Before their arrival, however, Pius, "not beguiling the hopes which the cardinals conceived of him at the time of his creation," had "rendered his debt to nature."<sup>16</sup> This short passage from the

<sup>12</sup> H, III, 886; F, p. 926; C, II, 515; G, sig. HHH<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> H, III, 890.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> H, III, 794. Pius' election is recorded under the year 1507.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

*Historie*<sup>17</sup> is followed by an earlier and somewhat longer passage which praises Pius' unspotted character and notes that "both for his extreame age and present sicknesse" he was not expected to live long.<sup>18</sup> These remarks, which put the College of Cardinals in an unfavorable light, were certainly pleasing to Fleming, who also saw in the election of Pius an occasion for relating the story of the death of his predecessor. Alexander and his son, Cesare Borgia, were supposed, through a servant's error, to have taken wine with which they were intending to poison yet further victims. This story was too admirable a case of poetic justice not to have found general acceptance. Guicciardini writes that

in his father and him were naturall customes to vse poison, not onelie to be reuenged of their enimies, or to be assured of suspicions: but also vpon a wicked couetousnesse, to despoile rich men of their goods. . . . This maner of rage they would vse also against their greatest friends & familiars, and such as had bin their most faithfull seruants.<sup>19</sup>

At this point, however, translator Fenton, who had been following his text closely, could not refrain from breaking in with his own view of their end:

a recompense vnworthie the merits of good men, and not disagreeable to the disposition of such a father and sonne, whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile dispensation; and with the other nothing was dishonest wherein was opportunitie to his purposes.<sup>20</sup>

Fenton, again deviating from his source, took pains to point out that Cesare's order to the unsuspecting servant that no one be allowed to touch the poisoned flagons was "a commandement preiudiciall to his maister, as the ignorance of the seruant was the instrument in the euill that happened both to the father and son."<sup>21</sup> "Such," he continued, "is the sufferance of God,"

who in the execution of his iudgements, raiseth one murtherer to kill another, & breaketh the brands of the fire vpon the head of him that first kindled it.<sup>22</sup>

After his relation of the death of Alexander VI, Guicciardini went on to give an estimate of his character. In the historian's opinion he had infected the whole world "with his immoderate ambition and polluted infidelitie, together with all the horrible examples of crueltye, luxurie, and monstrous couetousnesse."<sup>23</sup> The fact that Alexander VI, in spite of his enormities, had been "accompanied with a most rare, & almost perpetuall prosperitie," should not, Guicciar-

<sup>17</sup> Cf. F, p. 314; C, I, 527; G, sig. Tv.

<sup>18</sup> H, III, 794; F, p. 312; C, I, 523; G, sig. Tr.

<sup>19</sup> H, III, 795; F, p. 308; C, I, 516-17; G, sig. [S5]v.

<sup>20</sup> H, III, 795; F, p. 308. Cf. C, I, 517; G, sig. [S5]v.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> H, III, 795; F, p. 308; C, I, 517; G, sig. [S5]v.

dini asserted, lead men to question "the iustice and power of God, the greatnesse of which . . . knoweth how well and largely to discerne in an other time and place the iust from the vniust."<sup>24</sup> Fenton added nothing to his author's judgment, but Fleming was evidently of the opinion that it was not sufficient to leave the reader with only the thought of "rewards and eternall punishments." He was reminded, in the words of the Psalmist, that "the imaginers of mischeefe in this life" were apt to be caught in their own snares and "ouertaken with such destruction as they had prepared for others."<sup>25</sup>

Pius III, who was pope for barely a month, was succeeded in November, 1503, by the vigorous Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, who took the name of Julius II. Julius is first mentioned in the *Chronicles* in connection with the formation, at the end of the year 1511, of the Holy League against France, of which Henry VIII was a member.<sup>26</sup> The reference to the League is the last entry under 1511. Before continuing with the events of the following year the editors saw fit to interrupt their narrative for the purposes of relating how Julius had become pope, and what manner of man he was.<sup>27</sup> A marginal note refers to him as "a factious fellow and an enimie to peace."<sup>28</sup> The source of this remark is to be found in an addition made by Fenton to Guicciardini's estimate of the character of the newly elected pope. Guicciardini had commented upon the surprise occasioned by the choice of a cardinal whose disposition was so restless and vehement.<sup>29</sup> Fenton, stressing Julius' turbulent nature, added that he was "a man to whose wit nothing was more familiar, than the inuention of trouble, faction, and conspiracie."<sup>30</sup>

Yet, as Guicciardini admitted, there were a number of reasons for Julius' ability to overcome all difficulties and "to attaine the pope-dome"—one of the most potent being his reputation as a man of veracity.

A praise which he made no care to defile and staine, to the end to become pope; knowing that no man more easilie beguileth an other, than he that hath the custome and name neuer to deceiue anie.<sup>31</sup>

This observation led Fleming to remark that the "practice of dissimulation was much frequented of those that aspired & possessed

<sup>24</sup> H, III, 795; F, p. 308; C, I, 517-18; G, sig. [S5]v.

<sup>25</sup> H, III, 795. Psalms vii: 16, 17.

<sup>26</sup> H, III, 811.

<sup>27</sup> H, III, 811-12; F, pp. 314-15; C, I, 527-28; G, sigs. T<sup>v</sup>-T<sup>2r</sup>. The section in H concerning Julius begins: "The foresaid pope Julie, the kings confederat, was (before his aduancement to the popedome) cardinall of Saint Petri ad Vincula, a man mightie in freends, reputation, and riches, who had drawne to him the voices of so manie cardinals. . . ." Cf. F, p. 314: "And the Cardinall S. Petri Ad vincla mighty in frends, reputatiō, & riches, had drawn to him the voices of so many Cardinals. . . ."

<sup>28</sup> H, III, 811.

<sup>29</sup> G, sig. T<sup>2r</sup>; C, I, 527.

<sup>30</sup> F, p. 314; H, III, 811.

<sup>31</sup> H, III, 812; F, pp. 314-15; C, I, 528; G, sig. T<sup>2r</sup>.

the popedom."<sup>32</sup> In support of this opinion he made use of "a prouerbe ordinarilie in Rome," cited by Guicciardini, to the effect that Julius' predecessor, Alexander VI,

did neuer the thing which he said, and his sonne the duke of Valentinois seldome spake that which he ment.<sup>33</sup>

"Which kind of people (pretend they what they will) are excluded from the rest of Sion," readers of the Chronicle were reminded.<sup>34</sup>

There is no further mention of Julius II until 1513, in May of which year "a cap of maintenance & a sword" from the pope were presented with great ceremony to the king at St. Paul's.<sup>35</sup> Fleming then introduces Guicciardini's comparison likening this pugnacious pontiff, whose spirit the most disastrous reverses could not subdue, to Antaeus who, whenever he was thrown, arose stronger than before from contact with his mother earth.<sup>36</sup> This figure, which evidently struck Fleming's fancy, lost much of its point by being reprinted without reference to the circumstances which inspired it, namely, the failure of Julius' efforts to expel the French from Italy in 1510. Fleming then turns to the *Historie's* relation of "the purposes of pope Julie the second and his death" (February 20, 1513), which he introduces in words that indicate clearly his opinion of that pontiff:

After he had plaid all his troublesome pageants, and had got by sundrie aspring practises I wot not what peerelesse primasie, he fell sickie.<sup>37</sup>

A reader ignorant of Julius' undertakings to extend the dominions of the Church by war and diplomacy would in all likelihood have found Guicciardini's detailed account of his designs just prior to his death difficult to follow. Nevertheless the passage was probably given in full in the *Chronicles* because of its unflattering portrait of this martial prelate who is represented as "full of furie & vnrulie conceptions," and as without feeling for the spiritual character of his office.<sup>38</sup> Yet in spite of conduct so unbecoming a pope, Julius was, according to Guicciardini, greatly admired by those who had "either lost the true consideration of things," or,

<sup>32</sup> H, III, 812.

<sup>33</sup> H, III, 812; F, p. 305; C, I, 512; G, sig. [S4]<sup>v</sup>. F reads: "Their simulation and dissimulation being so notable, that it was a prouerbe ordinarie in Rome that the Pope neuer did that which he saide, and the Duke seldome spake that which he ment."

<sup>34</sup> H, III, 812.

<sup>35</sup> H, III, 830.

<sup>36</sup> H, III, 830; F, p. 490; C, I, 807; G, sig. FF<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> H, III, 830.

<sup>38</sup> H, III, 830-31; F, pp. 631-33; C, II, 50-52; G, sigs. [OO5]<sup>r</sup>-[OO5]<sup>v</sup>. Fenton's phrase, "full of furie & vnrulie conceptions," makes Julius appear even more fierce than does Chomedey who, translating Guicciardini's "impetuoso, & di concetti smisurati," describes Julius as "impetueux & de concepiōs dés-mesurées."

ignorant how to distinguish and prize them rightlie, iudged it an office more due lie appertaining to popes to increase the iurisdiction of the see apostolike by armes and blood of christians, than by good example of holie life and due curing and correction of corrupt maners, to traue ll for the sauuing of those soules, for whom they glorie so much that Iesus Christ hath named them his vicars in earth.<sup>39</sup>

Fenton evidently considered his author's criticism so damaging that no comment on his part was required. This censure proved insufficient, however, for Fleming, who pointed out that Julius was to be regarded as "a branch or rather a brand of the diuell."<sup>40</sup>

Julius II was succeeded in March, 1513, by Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici). The *Chronicles* present the *Historie's* account of his election<sup>41</sup> and coronation, the splendor of which led men of judgment to express the wish that Leo had exhibited greater moderation, since "such a maiestie of pompe" was not "conuenient for Popes."<sup>42</sup>

The next reference to Leo in the *Chronicles* is of no historical importance. The editors, struck by the report of the appearance in Rome in 1514 of "two huge and statelie elephants," a gift to the pope, managed with considerable ingenuity to introduce this episode from the *Historie* into their narrative under the year 1515. In their opinion the "triumph" attendant upon Wolsey's reception of the cardinal's hat in London, November, 1515, was much like that seen in Rome when the arrival of the elephants was witnessed by a great throng,

some wondering at the strange forme and stature of the beasts, some marueling to what vses their nature inclined them, and some coniecturing the respects and purposes of such a present, their ignorance making their woonder farre greater than their reason.<sup>43</sup>

Had the editors of the *Chronicle* compared Fenton with his source, they would have found that the description of the behavior of the crowd owed nothing to Chomedey, who, following the Italian, reported simply that the entry of the elephants "fut celebrée avecques vne tres-grâde affluence de peuple."<sup>44</sup> Fenton's expansion is a good example of his eye for specific detail and his liking for the picturesque—features appreciated by the compilers of the *Chronicle*.

Leo's plans for a crusade against the Turks are narrated,<sup>45</sup> but curiously no mention is made of his propensity for pleasure or his sordid traffic in indulgences, concerning which Guicciardini had much to say. The *Chronicles* follow the *Historie's* account of the

<sup>39</sup> H, III, 831; F, pp. 632-33; C, II, 52; G, sig. [005]v.

<sup>40</sup> H, III, 831.

<sup>41</sup> H, III, 831-32; F, pp. 633-34; C, II, 53-55; G, sigs. [005]v-[006]r. H omits material relating to the two schismatic cardinals.

<sup>42</sup> H, III, 832; F, p. 634; C, II, 55; G, sig. [006]r.

<sup>43</sup> H, III, 837; F, p. 682.

<sup>44</sup> C, II, 133; G, sig. [RR4]v.

<sup>45</sup> H, III, 846-47; F, pp. 756-59; C, II, 250-55; G, sigs. [XX5]r-[XX6]v.

pope's sudden death in December, 1521; a marginal note by Fleming calls attention to the suspicion that he was poisoned.<sup>46</sup> In summing up Leo's pontificate Guicciardini acknowledged that he was "a prince in whom were manie things worthie to be commended & blamed" and who had

deceiued greatlie the expectation that was had of him, when he was created pope, for that in his gouernement was great discretion, but farre lesse bountie than was looked for.<sup>47</sup>

In discussing the cardinals' choice of a successor to Leo neither the *Storia* nor the *Historie* had anything to say concerning Wolsey's ambition to become pope. The *Chronicle* notes his "vaine hope through the kings fauour and furtherance, to be elected," and the efforts of Richard Pace in his behalf.<sup>48</sup> His "sute was dashed" by the strange election of Cardinal Adrian Dedel of Utrecht, Archbishop of Tortosa.<sup>49</sup> The section concerning Adrian's election is followed immediately by a description, to be found sixteen pages farther on in the *Historie*, of the new pope's entry into Rome.<sup>50</sup> Nothing is said of Adrian's brief pontificate, nor of the choice of his successor, Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici), in November, 1523. The first mention of Clement occurs under the year 1526, at which time (May 22), he concluded the Holy League of Cognac with Francis I against Charles V. This treaty, as the *Chronicles* note, brought open war with the emperor, the march of the imperial troops against Rome, and the flight of the pope to the Castle of St. Angelo. For the full story of those dreadful happenings the reader is advised to turn to "Guic. lib. 18."<sup>51</sup> As page references indicate, Fleming's selections are not given in chronological order. The first extract tells how the beleaguered Clement early in June, 1527, was forced to capitulate to the emperor and to surrender the Castle of St. Angelo.<sup>52</sup> This account is followed with a short paragraph, to be found five pages farther on in the *Historie*, which describes the spread of the plague afflicting Rome to the castle where the pope was still a prisoner<sup>53</sup>—an excerpt doubtless included for the purpose of exhibiting his wretched condition.

<sup>46</sup> H, III, 871; F, p. 813; C, II, 340-41; G, sig. [AAA6]v.

<sup>47</sup> H, III, 871; F, p. 813; C, II, 341; G, sigs. [AAA6]v-BBB<sup>r</sup>. Fenton uses "bountie" with the meaning goodness in general, worth, virtue. Cf. French *bonté*: Italian *bontà*.

<sup>48</sup> H, III, 871.

<sup>49</sup> H, III, 871; F, p. 823; C, II, 356-57; G, sig. [BBB4]r. Adrian, Cardinal Euesque de Derthuse, is the form found in Chomedey; Fenton uses the form Derchuso, which is taken over by the *Chronicles*.

<sup>50</sup> H, III, 871; F, p. 839; C, II, 383; G, sigs. CCC3v-[CCC4]r.

<sup>51</sup> H, III, 893.

<sup>52</sup> H, III, 893; F, pp. 1067-68; C, II, 724-25; G, pp. 222-23.

<sup>53</sup> H, III, 893; F, p. 1072; C, II, 737; G, p. 232. The coming of the plague is mentioned on p. 1070 of the *Historie*. Fleming tells the reader in his own words of the appearance of the pestilence; then he continues with the *Historie*'s account of the pope's plight.

From the incarceration of Clement the *Chronicles* shift to a discussion of English affairs which occupies two and a half pages. Then Fleming turns rather abruptly to the *Historie* again for a description of the sack of Rome, which he introduces as follows:

In this meane time great warres were managed betweene the pope and other princes, amongst whom the duke of Burbon (of whom you haue heard often mention before in sundrie actions) leuieng a great power, led the same towards Rome.<sup>54</sup>

With the words: "and [he] incamped within the medow neere to the citie" Fleming takes up the account of the assault as given in the *Historie*.<sup>55</sup> Fenton's delight in fullness of expression, his use of doublets and of parallel constructions, his habit of commenting upon his material, make his relation of the storming of Rome and the terrible sack which followed it much longer than Guicciardini's or Chomedey's. Any number of instances of his tendency towards amplification might be cited. Compare, for example, the Italian, French, and English versions of "the shamefull and lamentable abuse which the souldiers offered to the female sex." Chomedey, following the Italian, writes:

On entendoit les cris & lamētations pitoyables des femmes Romaines, & des religieuses que les soldats menoyent par troupes pour saouler leur luxure.<sup>56</sup>

Fenton's expansion of this short passage reveals his fondness for balanced phraseology. At the same time he dramatizes the scene more fully:

Right pitifull were the criengs and lamentations of the women of Rome: and no lesse worthie of compassion, the calamitie of nunnes and virgins professed, whom the souldiours rauished by troopes out of their houses to satisfie their lust, no age, no sex, no dignitie or calling was free from the violation of souldiours, in whom it was doubtful whether bare more rule, the humor of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of lust to defloure, or lastlie, the rage of couetousnesse to rob and spoile.<sup>57</sup>

Another way in which Fenton amplified his original was by the addition of moralizing reflections. A good instance occurs in his treatment of the death of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, leader of the imperial army. Guicciardini writes that Bourbon was killed at the first fixing of the scaling ladders by a wound received from a harquebus.<sup>58</sup> Fenton, before relating the incident, remarks:

But such was his destinie to determine his life & his glorie together, or rather such the reward of his wilfull forwardnes, which for the most part heapeth wretched effects vpon such as seeke not to accompanie their valour with counsell and discretion.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> H, III, 895.

<sup>55</sup> H, III, 895-97; F, pp. 1060-64; C, II, 721-25; G, pp. 208-13.

<sup>56</sup> C, II, 724; G, p. 213.

<sup>57</sup> H, III, 897; F, p. 1063.

<sup>58</sup> G, p. 209; C, II, 721.

<sup>59</sup> H, III, 895; F, p. 1061.

After translating the brief account of Bourbon's death, Fenton observed that he received "iustlie vpon his bodie and life the price of the action, which contrarie to all iustice and pietie he went about to execute."<sup>60</sup>

Fenton's hostility towards the papacy led him to change the meaning of a passage concerned with the ill-fated Clement's flight to the Castle of St. Angelo during the sack of the Holy City. In Guicciardini's opinion he was destined to serve as an example of the disasters that might befall pontiffs, and also of how difficult it was to extinguish their authority and majesty.<sup>61</sup> According to Fenton's version Clement was "appointed by destinie, to be an example of the calamities that maie thunder vpon popes, and how fraile is the authoritie and maiestie of that see."<sup>62</sup>

The Chronicle's ardent Protestantism is evident in one of the marginal notes. Fenton had translated without comment Guicciardini's account of the delight taken by the German Landknechts, as followers of Martin Luther, in destroying churches, defiling holy relics, and venting their spite on the persons of great prelates. The Chronicle felt impelled to add a note: "The reader is to tollerate the report of this historie though sauouring of superstition."<sup>63</sup>

The fortunes of Clement in the fateful year 1527 are taken up again by the Chronicle in a section dealing with the relations of various rulers to Charles V. The terms of the agreement signed between pope and emperor in November, 1527, as "reported by Guicciardine" are given,<sup>64</sup> as well as the account of the pope's escape from prison before the day set for his liberation.<sup>65</sup>

For the last seven years of Clement's pontificate (1528-1534), the Chronicle draws upon the *Historie* only for the pope's death.<sup>66</sup> Guicciardini, whose judgment of Clement was severe, wrote that he died hated by the court, mistrusted by princes, and with the reputation of having a disagreeable nature.<sup>67</sup> His intelligence was acknowledged to be great, but unfortunately timorousness too often "corrupted his judgement."<sup>68</sup> This unflattering character portrait is followed by outspoken remarks concerning the motives of the Conclave in their choice of the new pope, Paul III (Alessandro Far-

<sup>60</sup> H, III, 895; F, p. 1061.

<sup>61</sup> G, p. 210; C, II, 722.

<sup>62</sup> H, III, 896; F, p. 1062.

<sup>63</sup> H, III, 896.

<sup>64</sup> H, III, 902; F, p. 1085; C, II, 758; G, pp. 262-63.

<sup>65</sup> H, III, 902; F, pp. 1085-86; C, II, 759; G, pp. 263-64.

<sup>66</sup> H, III, 935; F, pp. 1182, 1183; C, II, 913 (misprint for 903), 904; G, pp. 474-75, 475-76. The Chronicle joins a short passage, F, p. 1182, in which Clement's being stricken with a fatal sickness early in September, 1534, is first mentioned, to a later section, p. 1183, discussing his death and character. H gives "Guic. 1182, &c" in the margin.

<sup>67</sup> H, III, 935; F, p. 1183; C, II, 904; G, p. 476.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

nese), a man of great learning and upright character. The cardinals, Guicciardini tells his readers, were

so much the more forward to passe the election in his person, by how much for the greatnesse of his age, being alreadie vpon the threescore and seuenth yeare, and supposed to beare a weak and vnsound complexion (which opinion he nourished with art) they hoped he would not sit long in the seat.<sup>69</sup>

Guicciardini's great work then concludes with the observation that the writings of future historians would reveal whether the new pope was worthy of the expectation conceived of him—it being a true saying that "the office setteth out the dignitie of the person that manageth it."<sup>70</sup> This comment is omitted by the Chronicle, which substitutes a violent criticism of the cardinals who elected the aged Paul in the hope that shortly

the dignitie of the place and primasie might fall to one of them, whose eies looked for the glorie which their hearts lusted, being vtterlie estranged from God and godlinesse, as altogither addicted to the wanton desires of temporall delites, that they might passe their daies in delicacie.<sup>71</sup>

The passages in which Guicciardini touches on English affairs are few, for England played a lesser role in Italian politics than France or Spain, and then only under Henry VIII. Elizabethan historians would reject an Italian treatment of the divorce, though in the process of translation Fenton took care to suppress unflattering references to the king and to his choice of a new consort. Guicciardini's comment on Wolsey's fall is, however, cited approvingly by the Chronicle.

An example (saith Guicciardin, who handleth this storie effectuellie, and sheweth the cause of this cardinals ruine) in our daies worthie of memorie, touching the power which fortune and enuie hath in the courts of princes.<sup>72</sup>

In discussing the character of Richard III, whose name does not appear in the *Storia*, since his death occurred five years prior to the date with which the volume opens,<sup>73</sup> Fleming nevertheless utilized Guicciardini to compare the unscrupulous means by which Richard "obtained the kingdome" and Lodovico Sforza, Il Moro, the Dukedom of Milan.<sup>74</sup> Without supplying the reader with any information concerning the House of Sforza, Fleming takes over the account from the *Historie*: "Lodo. Sforco Duke of Myllan by vsurpacion":

<sup>69</sup> H, III, 936; F, pp. 1183-84; C, II, 904; G, p. 477.

<sup>70</sup> F, p. 1184; C, II, 904; G, p. 477.

<sup>71</sup> H, III, 936.

<sup>72</sup> H, III, 917; F, p. 1139; C, II, 839; G, p. 381.

<sup>73</sup> The *Storia* opens with a survey of conditions of Italy in the year 1490.

<sup>74</sup> H, III, 761; F, p. 49.

<sup>75</sup> The words in parentheses are Fleming's. Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan from 1476-1494, was feeble in all respects and completely under the

It was published that the death of Galeas (his late predecessor)<sup>75</sup> happened by immoderate cohabitation, but the vniuersall iudgment of Italie was, that he died not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poison and violent compulsion.<sup>76</sup>

If Gian Galeazzo was a victim of poisoning, none, according to Guicciardini, could doubt the guilt of Il Moro, who, not content with exercising the functions of duke, was ambitious to have the title. "Wherein," comments Fenton, who censures Lodovico more severely than his author,

ambition and couetousnesse preuailed aboue conscience and law of nature, and the gealous desire of dominion inforced his disposition (otherwise abhorring blood) to that vile action.<sup>77</sup>

In his concluding remarks on Richard III, Fleming, noting that Gloucester was a title "of dignitie ioined with misfortune," again drew upon Guicciardini to declare that

for infelicitie it might well be compared vnto the name of Jone, a name vnhappy and much accursed for the kingdome of Naples.<sup>78</sup>

Of special interest is the application of Fenton's reflections on the death of the exiled Pietro de' Medici, drowned near Gaeta, December, 1503, to the similar fate suffered by the lord high admiral, Sir Edward Howard, April, 1513, in an attempt to cut out the French galleys, commanded by Prégent de Bidoux, from Whitsand Bay. To Guicciardini's recital of the sinking of the boat bearing Pietro and other gentlemen, Fenton added this comment:

a destinie lamentable, considering the qualitie of the persons, with the maner of their dying. Wherein though many vaynely dispute that fortune ledd them to so miserable an accident, yet if wee will lifte vp our considerations to God, we shall finde that he hath reserued such a prerogatiue ouer all things whiche he hath created, that to him onley belongs the authoritie to dispose all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing.<sup>79</sup>

These words form part of a moralizing passage which serves to introduce the Chronicle's account of Howard's foolhardy venture. The reader is told that in deciding to attack Prégent in his moorings Howard went "further than wisdome would he should . . . to his vtter vndooing and casting awaie,"

influence of Lodovico, his uncle. He was twenty-four at the time of his death. Iohn Galeas is the form used by Fenton, Iean Galeas by Chomedey, Giouan Galeazzo by Guicciardini.

<sup>75</sup> H, III, 761; F, p. 49; C, I, 66 (misprint for 82); G, sig. [C6]r. "And violent compulsion" is an addition made by Fenton.

<sup>77</sup> H, III, 761; F, p. 49. Cf. C, I, 67 (misprint for 83); G, sig. [C6]r.

<sup>78</sup> H, III, 761; F, p. 12; C, I, 20; G, sig. [A5]r. Joanna, queen of Naples from 1414-1435. Fenton uses the form Iohane; Chomedey, Jeanne; Guicciardini, Giouanna.

<sup>79</sup> F, p. 325; C, I, 544-45; G, sig. [T5]r.

God hauing ordeined the means by his prouidence, which the pagans implied (though wanting the light of grace) in the name of destinie, of them counted ineuitable.<sup>80</sup>

Fenton's reflections on the death of Pietro de' Medici and his party are then introduced. The only changes, aside from spelling variations, consist in the substitution of the singular "person" for "persons" and of "his" for "their" so as to make the passage applicable to Howard.<sup>81</sup> The Chronicle then goes on to observe that notwithstanding this "foolish world" continues to speak of "casualtie, chancemedlie, misfortune, and such like foolish imaginations,"

whereas (indeed) the prouidence of God compasseth all things whatsoever for nothing can be priuiledged from the amplexesse of the same.<sup>82</sup>

Fleming also managed with considerable skill to introduce a passage from Guicciardini in support of his thesis that "prodigious token or accident haue their issue in truth." After describing several portents lately seen in England, Fleming writes:

And bicause the euent of these foreshewes had their truth, as manie more of the like nature; it shall not be amisse here to ad (by waie of digression) what hath bene obserued in former ages by forren writers in and about such foretokens.<sup>83</sup>

Then follows an excerpt from the *Historie* telling of signs in the sky, "with many other thinges against the order of nature, concurring all at one time, but in diuerse places," that were seen in Italy just before the expedition of Charles VIII in August, 1494. The people "were caried into incredible feares, being already amazed with the brute of the French powers," and after Charles marched into Italy they came to look upon the appearance of these prodigies as "foreshewes of the calamities" to follow in wake of the French invasion.<sup>84</sup> There is, then, in "foreshewes," Fleming comments,

matter of moment worthie to be obserued, howsoever the world lulled asleep in the lap of securitie is touched with no feare of change. But alas the Heathen could see the contrarie, and therefore said:

Omnia mortali mutantur lege creata,  
Nec se cognoscunt terrae vetenibus annis  
Exutas variam faciem per secula gentes.<sup>85</sup>

The number and character of the citations from Guicciardini indicate that the editors of the *Chronicles*, and Fleming in particular, had considerable acquaintance with Fenton's translation of the

<sup>80</sup> H, III, 816.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> H, III, 793.

<sup>84</sup> H, III, 793; F, pp. 40-41; C, I, 67-68; G, sigs. C2<sup>v</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> H, III, 793. The quotation is from Marcus Manilius *Astronomicum* i. 515-18.

*Storia*. Since Fleming nowhere displays a knowledge of the original Italian or of Fenton's French intermediary, he was apparently unaware of the numerous instances in which Fenton departed from the role of translator. That he would have approved of his author's changes is clear from his own additions to certain excerpts, and from marginal comments which reveal a similarity of attitude on political, moral, and religious issues. This similarity is particularly striking when we turn to the religious side of Fleming's selections from the *Historie*. He shared Fenton's Protestant sympathies and his hostility to Rome; he took an even greater delight in pointing out the iniquity and impiety of the Holy See. Readers who had no other source of information concerning the occupants of the papal throne from 1492 to 1534 naturally received an extremely biased and incomplete account of their character and activities. These sections, which must have had considerable effect in strengthening antagonism to the papacy, are of greater importance than other excerpts. Yet all possess a certain interest as showing what portions of Guicciardini's great history made a special appeal to a sixteenth-century English chronicler, and in introducing Fenton's translation to many Elizabethan readers.

*New Haven, Connecticut*

A TRAGICOMEDY OF HUMORS: FLETCHER'S  
*THE LOYAL SUBJECT*

By EUGENE M. WAITH

*The Loyal Subject* was one of John Fletcher's most successful tragicomedies. There is no direct evidence of how the play was received in 1618 at its first performance, but we know that when it was performed before the king and queen in 1633, it was "well liked by the King," and it continued to be well liked for nearly a hundred years. Pepys, Genest, and others testify to its popularity during the Restoration. In the first years of the eighteenth century a "Young Lady," who preferred to remain anonymous, paid the play an Augustan compliment by entirely rewriting it. A still greater compliment was paid to Fletcher by an editor who reissued *The Loyal Subject* in its original form, commenting with understandable sarcasm upon the "Young Lady's" attempted improvements. Since those days *The Loyal Subject* has received few critical bouquets. Weber, in 1812, praised Fletcher's depiction of "female character in all its shades of mutability,"<sup>1</sup> but objected to the improbability of the numerous situations which depend upon disguises. Indeed, if probability is made the criterion for judging all aspects of the play, even Weber's pronouncement on "female character" seems fantastically generous. There is no character in the play that is not extraordinarily one-sided, no situation that is not strained past the breaking-point of credibility.

The answer to Weber's criticism is that Fletcher does not aim in this play at a faithful reproduction of familiar characters or situations. It is necessary to reconsider the play in order to see what effects Fletcher truly aims to produce. A brief examination of his sources reveals Fletcher's alterations; a study of certain resemblances between the humor comedy of Ben Jonson and *The Loyal Subject* illuminates the principles underlying these alterations; finally, a somewhat detailed examination of the structure of the play reveals what Fletcher makes of his materials, and suggests why the result was first heralded as a great achievement, but later damned or disregarded. If I attempt to rescue *The Loyal Subject* momentarily from oblivion, it is with the primary intention of providing a better understanding of Fletcher's dramatic technique; for *The Loyal Subject* is one of the most striking examples of a method of characterization and structure which Fletcher used in all his tragicomedies.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Works*, ed. Henry Weber, VI (Edinburgh, 1812), 260.

## I

The story of *The Loyal Subject* derives from a *novella* by Bandello, which Painter translated and published in *The Palace of Pleasure*.<sup>2</sup> Fletcher need never have read the story in this form, as he probably knew Thomas Heywood's play, called *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*.<sup>3</sup> Here he would have found the outline and many of the details of the *novella*, used as Heywood's main plot.

Bandello introduces the story by raising a delicate question in the ever delicate matter of Renaissance courtesy: "whether commendable deed, or courteous and gentle fact done by the gentleman or courtier towards his sovereign lord, ought to be called liberality and courtesy, or rather band and duty."<sup>4</sup> Precisely this problem troubles the relationship of Artaxerxes, King of Persia, and his amazingly generous seneschal, Ariobarzanes. Bandello shows how, in his very liberality, Ariobarzanes departs from the "mean, wherein all virtue consisteth" and falls into the vice of prodigality, trying to excel his master. After a series of incidents which reveal this tendency, the King becomes displeased with Ariobarzanes and publicly humiliates him by depriving him of his office and banishing him from court. Another phase of the battle of courtesy is opened when the King requests Ariobarzanes to send to court the fairer of his two daughters. Ariobarzanes, now sly in his methods, sends the less fair of the two with instructions to reveal the deception as soon as she is with child by the King. When this happens, and the King angrily sends the daughter home, Ariobarzanes is able to achieve a *chef-d'oeuvre* of liberality by sending back, after a slight delay, both daughters and the infant heir of Artaxerxes. The contamination of Ariobarzanes' virtue becomes more apparent in this section of the story, and the new contention between sovereign and courtier ends even more spectacularly than the former one, when the King, backed by his council, sentences Ariobarzanes to death. The unexpected introduction of a new motif at this point makes possible a happy ending. It is suggested that envious courtiers are partially responsible for

<sup>2</sup> William Painter, *op. cit.*, ed. J. Jacobs (London, 1890), Tome II, Novel IV.

<sup>3</sup> Heywood's play was not published until 1637, but most editors have conjectured that it was written about 1600. The "Epilogue to the Reader" seems to support this conclusion, and Fletcher's much wider departures from the Bandello story certainly suggest that his play was written later than Heywood's. Since a number of details in Fletcher's play bear more resemblance to Heywood than to Bandello, it is likely that Fletcher had at least seen a performance of *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*, or quite possibly had read it in manuscript. For discussions of this problem see Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Works*, Variorum Edition, III (London, 1908), 226-27; also E. Dietrich, *Th. Heywoods "The Royal King and the Loyal Subject" und J. Fletchers "The Loyal Subject"* (Königsberg, 1916), pp. 14-20, 73-76.

<sup>4</sup> Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, ed. Jacobs, II, 176.

holding the King to his strict sentence when he might have weakened. When at the last moment the King offers to pardon Ariobarzanes if he will admit that he is overcome in liberality, Ariobarzanes makes his submission but saves his face by blaming the misunderstanding between his sovereign and himself upon the envious courtiers.

Heywood does not materially alter the outlines of this story, but he changes the scene to England and makes the contest between king and subject more credible to a middle-class audience by stressing the motivating force of the courtiers' envy. With Bandello's story Heywood combines the story of Captain Bonville, a noble young man supposed by the world to have lost his last penny in the wars. In reality he has acquired booty of enormous worth, but deliberately (as he later admits) keeps this fact a secret "only to try the humour" of his friends. The theme of true worth as opposed to riches—of spiritual as opposed to material values—is thus introduced and receives an obvious and thorough treatment. The poor Captain is spurned by courtiers, insulted by the Host of a tavern, jeered at by bawds. Only Lady Mary Audley loves him for himself; against her father's wishes she unselfishly agrees to marry him. And not in actions only but in many words throughout the play she demonstrates her attitude. Heywood is not subtle and Lady Mary is as explicit as a character in a Morality:

... Should I . . . taste a poisonous draught,  
Because presented in a cup of gold?  
Virtue will last when wealth flies, and is gone:  
Let me drink nectar, though in earth or stone.<sup>5</sup>

By the time that the "royal king" and "loyal subject" are reconciled, Captain Bonville has sufficiently convinced himself of the falseness of all his friends but one and has reappeared in fine clothes amidst general rejoicing. This dénouement resolves the plot better than it demonstrates the triumph of virtue.

Fletcher makes several significant departures from Bandello's story, besides changing the scene to Russia. One notices that Archas, "the loyal subject," is not a man whose virtue of liberality becomes the vice of prodigality, but, instead, a great general, who is the very embodiment of the soldierly virtues of loyalty, courage, honesty, and humility. Above all, he represents honor, a virtue which, in its most inclusive meaning, sums up the others. This is the word constantly associated with Archas. He calls the eagle on his standard a "bird of honour,"<sup>6</sup> and praises his soldiers for defying danger

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Heywood, *The Royal King, and Loyal Subject*, ed. J. Payne Collier (London, 1850), II, ii, 25.

<sup>6</sup> *The Loyal Subject*, I, iii (Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Works*, ed. Arnold Glover and A. R. Waller [Cambridge, 1905-1912], III, 84). All succeeding page references are to Volume III of this edition.

"where honour is";<sup>7</sup> another character refers to the humiliation of Archas as the "contempt of honour,"<sup>8</sup> and he calls himself "honour's martyr";<sup>9</sup> the Duke concludes the play with the pronouncement:

. . . he that can  
Most honour Archas, is the noblest man.<sup>10</sup>

Fletcher alters the initial situation of the story by showing the Duke already bent upon the humiliation of Archas. His antipathy derives from an occasion, many years before, when Archas, acting under orders from the former duke, reproved the young man for his failure to draw up the troops properly for review. Fully aware of the Prince's resentment, Archas then vowed to resign his generalship, and the opening scenes of the play present the fulfilment of that vow.

The breach between ruler and subject, already in existence at the outset, is kept open by the continual efforts of the Duke's evil counselor Boroskie, and over the protests of the good counselor, Burris. Boroskie is presented as the exact antithesis of Archas. He is cowardly, dishonest, and proud—"the enemy to honour, / The knave to worth,"<sup>11</sup> as he is called at the end of the play. His lack of spiritual worth is emphasized by his unmitigated ambition and his entirely materialistic standards.<sup>12</sup> The Duke himself is a man with a divided character—with a "hot humour" which has been fostered since childhood by Boroskie, but with a respect for honor, which is entirely eclipsed in the early part of the play.<sup>13</sup> Under Boroskie's influence he displays both the sensuality<sup>14</sup> and the greed<sup>15</sup> associated with materialism. At the end, owing to the ministrations of Archas' daughters, the Duke turns dramatically from Boroskie to Archas, and honor triumphs.

A noteworthy departure from Fletcher's sources is his treatment of the family of Archas. To the two daughters of Bandello's story are added two sons and a brother, and each member of the family is made to display Archas' leading characteristic, honor. One daughter, Honora, is militantly honorable; the other, Viola, is retiring, as her name suggests, but none the less firm in honor.<sup>16</sup> Young Archas, a veritable projection of his father, demonstrates soldierly courage even under the handicap of the feminine disguise which he wears

<sup>7</sup> II, i, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> I, iii, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> IV, v, p. 151.

<sup>10</sup> V, vi, p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> V, vi, p. 168.

<sup>12</sup> II, i, pp. 98-99.

<sup>13</sup> I, ii, p. 78, and II, i, pp. 96-97.

<sup>14</sup> III, iii, p. 125 and *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> II, v, pp. 113-16.

<sup>16</sup> III, ii, p. 119. In IV, iii (p. 142) the Duke says to Honora, "Another Archas?" to which she replies, "His child, Sir, and his spirit."

through most of the play.<sup>17</sup> The character of Theodore, the other son, is well summed up in the *Dramatis Personae* of the Second Folio as "valorous but impatient."<sup>18</sup> Briskie (disguised as Putskie) is Archas' "noble brother,"<sup>19</sup> but is not above scheming; for it is he who devises the crafty plan of sending Young Archas to court as a girl, with the twin hopes of protecting the lad from the Duke's wrath and of influencing the Duke in favor of Archas by means of a strategically placed apologist. In Fletcher's play Archas himself does none of the scheming suggested by Bandello or Heywood.

The main plot consists in a series of humiliations imposed upon Archas (public insult, exile, imprisonment and torture), each followed by a national crisis in which he loyally exerts himself to save his country and the Duke. The secondary plot deals with the love of Young Archas for Olympia, the Duke's sister. The affair is considerably complicated by the young man's disguise and by a misunderstanding on the part of Olympia which results in an unjust accusation of dishonorable conduct, and a temporary break in the relationship, parallel to the exile of Archas. The entire action of the play is based upon the contrast between abused honor and gold-plated dishonor. This is closely akin to the ethical contrast used by Heywood in his sub-plot, and it may be that the juxtaposition of this theme and the story of the loyal subject in one play suggested to Fletcher the idea of reconstructing the main plot as he did.

All of Fletcher's changes make for greater simplicity and greater unity. The character of Archas does not change from virtue to vice; it remains virtuous throughout. The actions of the Duke are clearly separated into two categories: the bad, which emanate from his "hot humour" and the influence of Boroskie; the good, which emanate from inborn honor and the influence of Archas and his family. The quarrel of the sovereign with his subject does not develop gradually but appears, fully developed, at the opening, and continues unchanged throughout the play until, at the end, it is suddenly replaced by reconciliation. Since it is depicted as the inevitable conflict between good and evil, the basis of the play is not a subtle question of etiquette, but a clear-cut ethical contrast. Finally, the invention of situations presenting additional members of the family of Archas produces secondary action much more closely allied to the main action than Heywood's story of Captain Bonville.

## II

The most remarkable of these changes are Fletcher's simplification of the character of Archas and the conception of his family

<sup>17</sup> I, iv, p. 92.

<sup>18</sup> Page 76.

<sup>19</sup> V, vi, p. 166.

as a unit, expressing collectively the virtue of honor, which he represents. The characterization of individual members of the family is even further simplified than that of Archas, since each of them (except Young Archas) represents a very particular manifestation of honor. In Archas and his family, then, Fletcher presents an anatomy of honor. With this group of characters he contrasts the somewhat complementary characters of the Duke and Boroskie, who form a smaller unit, expressing the ideal of materialism. Such an arrangement recalls the humor characterization of Ben Jonson, whose plays present conflicting groups of greatly simplified characters. A study of the resemblance is essential to a fuller understanding of Fletcher's aims and of the total effect of the play.

Jonson's use of humor characters changes as he evolves the form of satirical comedy exemplified in *Volpone*. In *Every Man in his Humor* (1598) the theory of humors provides little besides a psychological basis for the portrayal of types derived from the moralities and from Plautine and Renaissance comedy. In the three succeeding plays—the "Comicall Satyres": *Every Man out of his Humor* (1599), *Cynthia's Revels* (1600), and *Poetaster* (1601)—Jonson substitutes types drawn from contemporary formal satire.<sup>20</sup> He makes it his particular aim to "anatomize" the follies of affected courtiers and their imitators. For this purpose the theory of humors has a special appropriateness, because it isolates in each man one predominant tendency which is responsible for his deviation from the norm. A group of courtiers may thus be depicted, representing collectively the folly of life at court and, individually, the particular vices which comprise that folly. In *Cynthia's Revels* the humor characters are the typical gallants and ladies of contemporary satire, but each one is also the embodiment of an ethical abstraction, such as prodigality or voluptuousness.<sup>21</sup> Jonson uses the theory of humors here to establish clearly the relationships between individuals whom he wishes to present as a coherent group.

The action in the "Comicall Satyres" is not modeled on Plautine comedy, as it is in *Every Man in his Humor*; it is based on the opposition of one humor to another, and of the humor characters as a group to one or more high-minded and satirically inclined characters who appear (under different names) in each play and devote their efforts to exposing and correcting vice. The plot of *Poetaster*, for example, is formed to serve the satirical purposes of Horace, and each scene is so contrived as to reveal the contrasting foibles of the

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of this point and of Jonson's aims in his "Comicall Satyres" see O. J. Campbell, *Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus & Cressida* (San Marino, Calif., 1938), pp. 55-56 and *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Jonson equates his humors here with ethical concepts drawn from Aristotle, whose presentation of vice as a departure from the "mean" can readily be adapted to the humor theory.

decadent aristocrats, social climbers, and would-be poets, and to oppose the corruption of this group as a whole to the idealism of the Emperor, Virgil, and Horace. In the banquet scene of Act IV all of these contrasts are brought out. Under the influence of far too much liquor the party undertakes a ribald parody of a council of gods, and each reveler reveals by his words and actions his particular form of licentiousness. Ovid and Julia are witty, urbane; Cloe gratifies her social ambition by flirting with Ovid, though she is unable to keep up with his conversation; Captain Tucca becomes increasingly vulgar, and the self-styled poet, Crispinus, unable to think of anything else to say, fatuously applauds each new drunken jest. Suddenly the Emperor arrives, accompanied by Virgil and Horace. In a didactic vein, Caesar castigates the ignorance and folly of all the revelers, and, by way of contrast, praises knowledge and virtue. His closing words generalize upon the contrast but also, by implication, set apart Virgil and Horace from the other characters on the stage:

I will preferre for knowledge, none, but such  
As rule their lives by it, and can becalme  
All sea of humour, with the marble trident  
Of their strong spirits: Others fight below  
With gnats, and shaddowes, others nothing know.<sup>22</sup>

In *Volpone* (1606) Jonson returned to a plot suggestive of classical comedy, taking the situation from a section of the *Satyricon* which describes the ruses of Eumolpus in dealing with legacy hunters. But Jonson's treatment of this situation shows clearly the effect of his experiments with humor characterization in "Comicall Satyre." The entire play becomes an anatomy of greed, its different forms suggested by the names of the characters (Volpone, "fox," Corbaccio, "crow," Voltore, "vulture," Corvino, "raven") and by additional distinguishing traits, such as Corvino's jealousy. Volpone, himself, is a more complex character than the rest; in him Jonson presents a detailed picture of greed, developing fully the concomitant evil of sensuality. Thus the theory of humors is again useful in presenting certain characters as a related group, while revealing their particular foibles and thus analyzing the vice they represent.

Though Mosca, like the tricky slave of Plautine comedy, devises many of the tricks which constitute the action, the ensuing situations are developed, as in "Comicall Satyre," largely in terms of the contrasts between characters: the slyness of the fox is pitted against the rapacity of the birds of prey, and in certain scenes the corruption of all of these is contrasted with the purity of their inno-

<sup>22</sup> *Poetaster*, IV, vi, 74-78. (All references to Jonson's plays are based on the edition of his works by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, Oxford, 1925—.)

cent victims. Corvino's wife, Celia, suffers as much from his jealousy and greed as from Volpone's sensuality, and on the occasion of Volpone's attempted seduction of her—an occasion made possible by Corvino's stupid greed—Celia's speeches emphasize the contrast between two scales of value. In reply to Volpone's catalogue of exotic luxuries, his price for her honor, she says:

Good sir, these things might move a minde affected  
With such delights; but I, whose innocence  
Is all I can thinke wealthy, or worth th'enjoying,  
And which once lost, I have nought to loose beyond it,  
Cannot be taken with these sensuall baites.<sup>23</sup>

Fletcher's treatment of honor in *The Loyal Subject* is strikingly similar to this treatment of greed in *Volpone*, though his application of the technique to a virtue rather than a vice shifts the emphasis of the play and changes the tone. In *Volpone* two characters are virtuous and are used only to point up the satire of vice; in *The Loyal Subject* only two characters are vicious, and their machinations become the means of glorifying virtue. There are, however, a few reminiscences of the satirical tone in the speeches of Theodore and of the soldiers, and the didactic aim of "Comicall Satyre" is suggested by sundry devices used to correct the Duke's character by freeing him from the domination of materialism.

Fletcher's debt to Jonson is most plainly seen in his presentation of the family of Archas as a group of highly simplified characters, related to each other by the ethical concept which they all represent. Fletcher's use of his sources is also akin to Jonson's use of Petronius, for Fletcher, borrowing the situation from *Bandello* (via Painter and Heywood), develops it in accordance with a theory of dramatic structure based upon clear-cut ethical contrasts. Lastly, these contrasts, whether between members of the same or of opposite groups, form the basis of almost every scene and thus recall Jonson's contrivance of scenes in *Volpone* and, especially, in *Poetaster* and *Cynthia's Revels*.

The very simplicity of such a dramatic technique is an advantage. It provides a formula for handling the most diverse sorts of material, and the method of applying the formula is clearly seen in Fletcher's alterations of the sources of *The Loyal Subject*. But for Fletcher there were still other advantages, as we can see by examining the play in more detail.

### III

Despite the similarity of method, the effects produced by Fletcher and Jonson differ greatly. Jonson's all-important ethical contrasts serve Fletcher largely as a means of achieving emotional tension;

<sup>23</sup> *Volpone*, III, vii, 206-10.

for entertainment, rather than moral improvement, is clearly his purpose. The whole play is a series of spectacular variations on the theme of honor *vs.* materialism. An analysis of certain of these variations reveals the extraordinary ingenuity that is the secret of much of Fletcher's success in contriving the high-class entertainment of his tragicomedies.

The contrast is most apparent in the scenes where Archas and his son, Theodore, confront Boroskie, the evil counselor. The first of these opens with Archas' "farewell to the military profession," in which all of Fletcher's rhetoric is lavished upon the recollection of noble exploits. The Duke then summarily dismisses him from court and bestows his office upon Boroskie, but even in the face of this insulting treatment Archas remains loyal, thanking the Duke for past favors and for the opportunity to retire from active life. Boroskie explains these words as a "smooth humble cloak he has cas'd his pride in,"<sup>24</sup> an accusation which reveals Boroskie's envy and ambition. The pride of the two worshipers of Mammon is as clear as the humility of the noble Archas, and thus Fletcher's first presentation of the contrast is characterized by a note of irony.

The fullest presentation of the difference between the characters of Boroskie and Archas occurs when Archas returns with his soldiers from a successful campaign. Boroskie has been too cowardly to conduct the campaign himself, but now that the danger is past he warns the Duke that Archas' ambition must not be fostered by undue praise, and that it will be advisable for the Duke not to receive Archas and his men. In the ensuing dialogue between Boroskie, Archas, and other officers, Theodore comments angrily on Boroskie's great wealth, now secured to him by the victory, and when Boroskie criticizes his manner, he defends soldierly bluntness against Boroskie's love of flattery. Like white on black, Archas' virtues stand out as we see him remain impervious to insult, solicitous only on behalf of his honorable soldiers. The contrast is finally summed up by Putskie, Archas' brother, when Boroskie, still refusing to grant Archas a triumph, attempts to satisfy the army by a cash payment:

You should have us'd us nobly,

Then ye had paid us bravely: then we had shin'd Sir,  
Not in this gilded stuff but in our glory:  
You may take back your mony.<sup>25</sup>

Here the main theme is explicitly stated.

If Fletcher seems to be illustrating the Pardoner's text, *Radix malorum est cupiditas*, he by no means slights the concomitant sin

<sup>24</sup> I, iii, p. 87.

<sup>25</sup> II, i, p. 104.

of lechery, which, held up against the purest chastity, provides one of the many variations on his theme. An important part of the plot concerns the attempt of the Duke to corrupt Young Archas, who is disguised as a girl; her refusal to accept a jewel as a substitute for her honor<sup>26</sup> relates the incident closely to the one I have just described. And the same sort of contrast is made in a different way when the Duke's sister, Olympia, questions her new "lady in waiting" about the Duke's attentions to her. Young Archas' answers are all innocence, but each one is willfully misconstrued, in an obscene sense, by a jealous attendant, Petesca.<sup>27</sup> Again chastity and lechery are juxtaposed, and this variation parallels the false interpretation given by Boroskie to the words of Archas.

In all of the scenes described thus far, a character representing honor in at least one of its aspects is faced by an exponent of the corrupt philosophy of materialism. The usefulness of the many members of Archas' family is apparent in these scenes; for, in the first place, it is part of "the loyal subject's" role to accept passively every attack made upon him, and the aggressive defense of his position must be left to Theodore and Putskie; in the second place, the presence at court of other representatives of Archas' ideals makes it possible to maintain the contrast in the absence of Archas. But there are also scenes in which only the good characters appear. Fletcher thus avoids the monotony of an uninterrupted sequence of scenes in which the eager defenders of the cause of the spirit are subjected to the fiendish machinations of the Duke and Boroskie. Furthermore, even these scenes in which honor confronts honor are so handled by Fletcher that they, too, become variations on the main theme.

The simplest example of such scenes is the misunderstanding brought about between Olympia, who is an emblem of purity, and her pure and loyal "gentle-woman," the disguised Young Archas. Olympia has been led to suspect the honor of her attendant, and therefore dismisses her in tones of injured merit.<sup>28</sup> When Archas, loyally obeying orders, instructs his daughters, Honora and Viola, to go to court, the effect of contrast is maintained by a lengthy discussion of the evils of court. "Vertue was never built upon ambition," says Viola, to which Honora adds,

Shall we seek Vertue in a Sattin Gown;  
Embroider'd Vertue? Faith in a well-curl'd Feather?<sup>29</sup>

The contrast between material and spiritual values is completely verbalized in this scene, since all the characters on the stage are in

<sup>26</sup> III, iii, pp. 124-26.

<sup>27</sup> II, ii, pp. 107-08.

<sup>28</sup> V, i, pp. 134-36.

<sup>29</sup> III, ii, pp. 117-18.

substantial agreement, though the difference in temperament between Honora and Viola suggests another reflection of the contrast. Honora's description of the corrupt life is so lively and bold that, in comparison to the modest phraseology of Viola, it seems almost the speech of a hoyden. Sheer rhetoric and the humors of these two girls thus serve Fletcher's purpose in a scene where the stage is loaded with honor.

Honora's immodest talk is one example of a device widely used by Fletcher, the presentation of speech and action which are at variance with the true character. In many plays he seems to delight in the piquant flavor of situations where chaste men and women are made to "talk bawdy"; sometimes, as in the scene we have been considering, the only purpose served is that of contrast; at other times there is the additional purpose of some complication of plot, and the character deliberately misrepresents himself, as Edgar does on the heath in *King Lear*.<sup>30</sup> In *The Loyal Subject* such scenes fall readily into the pattern of variations. Theodore brings Honora and Viola to court, and, assuming for the moment the cynicism of the most profligate courtier, introduces them as accomplished courtesans.<sup>31</sup> So appallingly direct is his recommendation that two lecherous Gentlemen are frightened away, and the scene is thus given a practical purpose; yet the action is not advanced in any important way, and the only justification for introducing the incident is to hold out to the spectator the glaring contrast between fact and fiction.

This effect is almost repeated, two scenes later, when Young Archas, still in his disguise, also affects the wantonness of court in instructing the two girls how to behave with men.<sup>32</sup> And when the Duke attempts a simultaneous seduction of the two, Honora so dazzles him by a sudden shift from militant chastity to equally militant lovemaking, shouting encouragement to Viola between kisses, that he delivers a sharp moral rebuke and then a promise of reformation. An important turning point in the main action is thus brought about by the appearance of dishonor in an honorable character—a kind of situation which has characterized all the scenes which deal with the story of Honora and Viola. Since this example of false appearance is the most extreme, the scene in question is, aesthetically considered, an appropriate climax to the series.

Finally we come to the scenes treating the conflict between Archas and Theodore. Here there is no misunderstanding and no disparity between the behavior and the true character of the persons involved. Another use of Theodore's humor of impatience provides one more

<sup>30</sup> *King Lear*, III, iv.

<sup>31</sup> III, iv, pp. 126-28.

<sup>32</sup> III, vi, pp. 130-34.

type of variation on the theme. Again and again Theodore's outspoken censure of the dishonorable conduct of the Duke and Boroskie forces Archas to rebuke his son in the noble-Roman manner; for, although Theodore's devotion to honor is beyond cavil, his expression of it disregards loyalty, which is an all-important part of the ideal conception of honor represented by Archas. Thus the old patriarch is placed in the sort of dilemma especially relished by Fletcher and fully developed in this play. In the climactic last scene he shows Archas about to kill Theodore for being a "villain," a "rebel," a "fatal firebrand," and, by implication, a traitor. Theodore's only plea is that Archas, though killing him, should not disown him. Thus we are presented with the fascinating spectacle of honor branding honor as dishonorable, while the accused continues to insist that to life he prefers his inheritance of honor:

Strike me a thousand blows, but let me dye yours.<sup>23</sup>

The situation is made just twice as spectacular when, to prevent the disaster, Putskie enters with Young Archas, threatening to kill him the moment Archas kills Theodore. The intricacy of this presentation of conflicting loyalties is only exceeded in the dénouements of *The Queen of Corinth* and *The Laws of Candy*, and, as in those plays, the steadily increasing tension is suddenly resolved by a general reconciliation. Preposterous as the whole situation is, it has an undeniable effectiveness for one who has been following the series of variations from the first simple ones, through others of varying complexity to this, the showpiece of the lot.

Only in *The Loyal Subject* does Fletcher present a group of characters so closely related, and so obviously representative of honor as Archas and his family; yet in every Fletcherian tragicomedy there is a somewhat similar assortment of characters, united by their efforts to defend the Christian virtues included in the popular concept of honor. And in every Fletcherian tragicomedy there are the Machiavellian materialists, whose boundless ambition, greed, and sensuality produce a series of clashes with the members of the other group. This simplified—even melodramatic—treatment of the problem of good and evil characterizes Fletcher's tragedies as well, and the tragedies of the succeeding age. Archas is the ancestor of Addison's Cato, another general whose unworldly nobility is sharply contrasted with the treachery of his enemies.

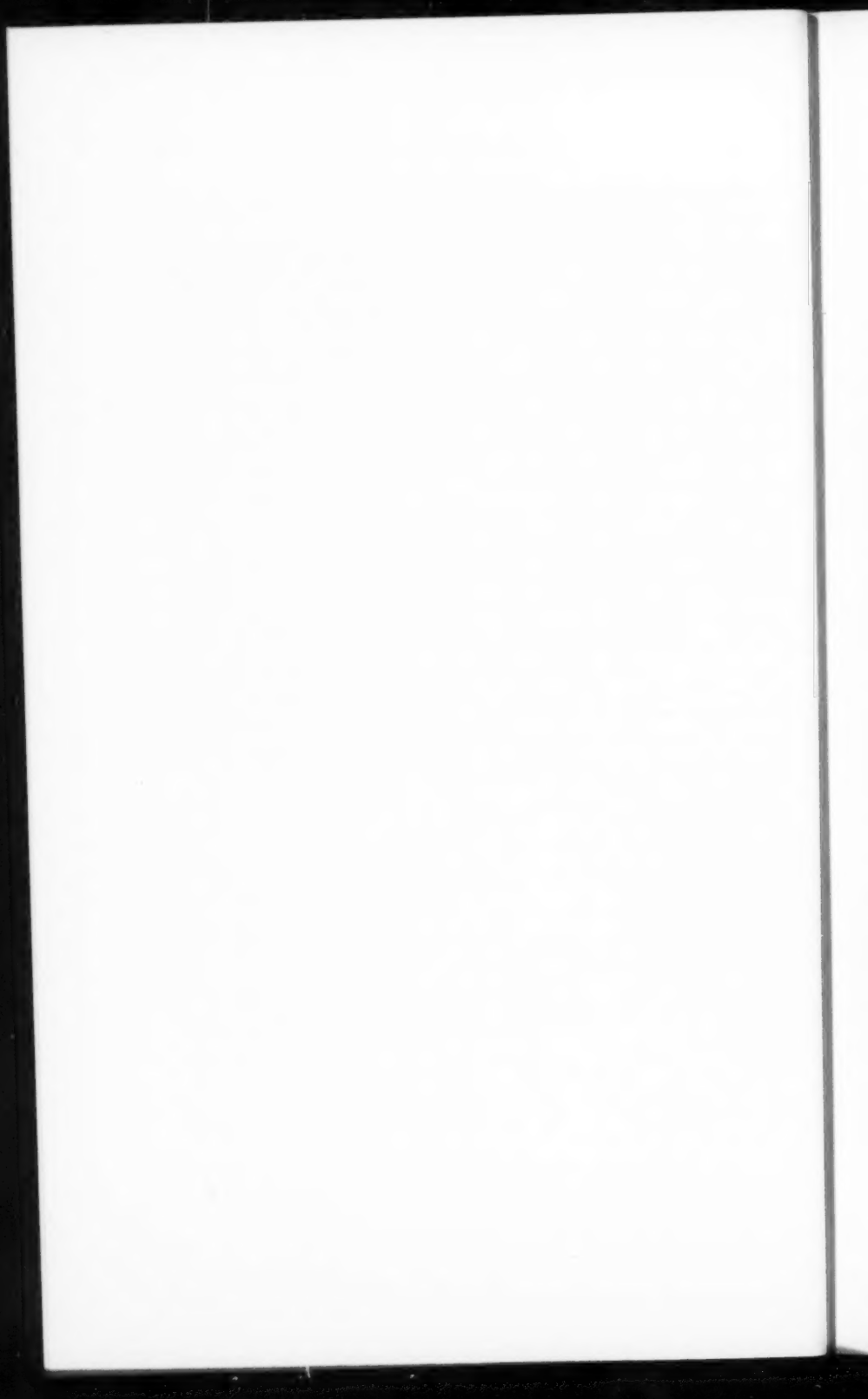
In other tragicomedies, as in *The Loyal Subject*, the ethical contrast is made explicit by continual and often tiresome verbalization, and Fletcher furthermore maintains it in many a scene by means of speech and action which are strikingly inconsistent with character. The fact is that Fletcher's ethical contrasts, unlike Jonson's (or,

<sup>23</sup> V, vi, p. 166.

for that matter, Shakespeare's), are never completely fused with his characters or plots. Fletcher uses a moral theme as the basis for a pattern which he imposes upon all the elements of the play, but in such a way that the pattern remains distinct from the material. The pattern itself, continually shifting and continually the same, is the *raison d'être* for *The Loyal Subject* and, in general, for Fletcherian tragicomedy.

The dramatic critic who is primarily interested in lifelike portraiture will inevitably be troubled by Fletcher's calculated inconsistencies in characterization. The critic who looks for the dramatization of an idea will find Fletcher's plays disappointingly thin. The critic in search of poetic richness will find, instead, the glitter of facile rhetoric. It is scarcely surprising, then, that few recent critics have found what they sought in *The Loyal Subject*, where Fletcher's methods appear in their extremest form. Yet, in a limited way, the play is an artistic success. To anyone who can be pleased by sheer pattern in dramatic entertainment, *The Loyal Subject* offers a liberal share of aesthetic enjoyment. Heywood's play is not far inferior to Fletcher's in profundity of observation or probability of action, and the themes of the two plays are almost identical. The superiority of Fletcher's *The Loyal Subject* consists in a fineness of invention which is almost beyond comparison with the crude, homespun devices of Heywood. Possibly the sophisticated audience for whom Fletcher wrote recognized the nature of his genius and gave its unstinting applause, where we give only grudging approval, to unwithering ingenuity and infinite variety.

Yale University



## WINSTANLEY'S *LIVES*: AN APPRAISAL

By WILLIAM R. PARKER

Not least of the duties of literary history is to give honor where honor is due. More than 250 years have passed since William Winstanley made his contribution to English studies, and scholarship has outgrown such flimsy compilations; but it is nothing to our credit that this pioneer in biographical and bibliographical research has yet to be impartially appraised. A close comparison of Winstanley's *Lives* and Edward Phillips' *Theatrum Poetarum* will show that the persistent charge of plagiarism must be carefully qualified. It will show, moreover, that both Winstanley's value for our understanding of the vagaries of literary reputation, and his positive additions to the literary knowledge of his own age, deserve our recognition.

Although *The Lives of the most Famous English Poets* (1687) advertises on its title page an account "of above Two Hundred" poets, 147 are actually listed in the catalogue, and only 168 are noted throughout. Of these 168, only thirty-four had not already been mentioned in Phillips' *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675). Since Phillips had initiated the work of compiling biographical and bibliographical data on British poets, some borrowing was inevitable, and, in fact, Winstanley leaned heavily upon both Phillips and Fuller for information and clues, just as Phillips had leaned heavily upon Bale, Camden, several Elizabethan miscellanies, and similar "sources." Both men built (as scholars must build) upon the obvious materials available. Winstanley could hardly have ignored Phillips.<sup>1</sup>

To label such borrowing "plagiarism" is to ignore both the actual situation and the attitude of the age.<sup>2</sup> Phillips had made the first cata-

<sup>1</sup> One reason that Winstanley has been damned as a plagiarist by Sir Egerton Brydges, Sidney Lee, and others, is the fact that Phillips' "sources" have not been so obvious to posterity. I intend to point them out in an edition of the *Theatrum Poetarum* which I have in preparation. Winstanley is sometimes astonishingly impersonal in his use of Phillips; for example, although he calls Thomas Rawlins "my old Friend," he merely paraphrases Phillips' account of Rawlins, adding no details. Another evidence of his respect for his predecessor's book is the too-often-discussed account of Milton. There is nothing surprising in the opinion of Milton expressed by the author of *The Loyall Martyrology*. The truly surprising fact is that he felt impelled, notwithstanding his violent prejudice, to admit that Milton "was one, whose natural parts might deservedly give him a place amongst the principal of our English Poets."

<sup>2</sup> We must remember that a book of this kind would be considered by the learned of the age among "Lighter Studies," and that there was no tradition for documentation and acknowledgment. Even the debt-conscious Langbaine, in his plagiarism-hunting *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), lumps his acknowledgments in his preface "to avoid loading the Page."

logue of British poets, and Winstanley, twelve years later, could attempt only to correct and augment Phillips' pioneer work. This he does. Moreover, Winstanley pays his predecessor the wholly undeserved compliment of listing him among "the most Famous English Poets" (just as Phillips had gratefully listed Bale). John Phillips is called "the Brother of *Edward Phillips*, the Famous Continuator of Sir Richard Bakers Chronicle; and Author of *The New World of English Words*." Still further, in Winstanley's account of Payne Fisher, Phillips is named as the source of a critical comment; and in six other instances Phillips is mentioned indirectly as "my Author," "a learned Author," "a modern Author," or some equally vague appellation,<sup>3</sup> which probably deceived no one familiar with the recent *Theatrum Poetarum*. At the close of Winstanley's imitative "Epistle to the Reader," there is even a quotation (in italics) from Phillips' preface, although the source is not named. Considering the times, and considering the fact that there is no attempt to ignore Phillips, Winstanley's practice is no more reprehensible than that of Phillips himself, who usually names no source and sometimes names the wrong one.

What is the extent of Winstanley's borrowing? Of his total of 168 poets, thirty-four seem to have come out of the *Theatrum Poetarum* with nothing new added. I say "seem" because, of these thirty-four, ten were merely named; in other words, only twenty-four of his actual *Lives* of the poets were entirely derivative in the sense of being paraphrased or reprinted verbatim.<sup>4</sup> These twenty-four were, by the standards of an unhistorical literary ethics, "stolen." On the other hand, whereas Winstanley noted 134 poets who were also noted by Phillips, in the case of one hundred he had contributions of his own to make. These contributions differ, of course, in value and extent. His accounts of nearly one-third (actually thirty-one) of the hundred are largely derivative; that is, he adds comparatively little, but he adds something beyond a paraphrase. Twenty-nine of the accounts, however, instead of leaning on Phillips, are utterly independent; and among these are notices of such poets as Churchyard, Chapman, Daniel, Ford, Gower, Lydgate, Lyly, Massinger, Nashe, Quarles, Suckling, Surrey, and Sylvester. Forty may be described as largely independent, since they borrow some from Phillips but add more than they borrow; among these are the notices of Beaumont and Fletcher, Chaucer, Cleveland, Corbet, Donne, Drayton, Phineas Fletcher, Greene, Greville, Jonson, Lodge, Lovelace, Middleton, More, Ran-

<sup>3</sup> See Winstanley's accounts of Richard Brome, John Hardyng, Thomas Manley, Edward Sherburne, Spenser, and Suckling. In the account of Donne, Phillips is actually quoted by means of italics, although his name is not mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Five of these twenty-four consist entirely of data from Kirkman's play catalogue, which Winstanley might, of course, have found independently. He certainly consulted Kirkman to correct and augment Phillips elsewhere.

dolph, Shakespeare, Sidney, Spenser, Warner, and Withers. Even by so mechanical a test as counting names rather than the length or value of the accounts, not forty per cent (at the most) of Winstanley's 168 *Lives* can be called either entirely or largely derivative.

Since the groundwork had so recently been laid, Winstanley's problem, far more than that of Phillips, was one of selection. In the *Theatrum Poetarum* 252 modern British poets are named. Thirty-three of these are Scottish poets, taken chiefly from the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637), and Winstanley omitted them all because he wanted his catalogue to be entirely English.<sup>5</sup> He omitted too, for reasons unexplained, the sixteen female poets whom the nephew of Milton included in his catalogue.<sup>6</sup> He could, of course, have borrowed and tried to augment Phillips' accounts of the remaining 203 poets; but, deliberately or otherwise, he omitted sixty-eight of them. For the student of literary reputation, these omissions raise some interesting questions.

Undoubtedly a few were inadvertent. For example, Winstanley overlooked Phillips' note on Sir Walter Raleigh but remarked his own omission of Raleigh in the "Epistle to the Reader."<sup>7</sup> Other omissions were likely due to his inability to learn more about various poets who are mentioned in the *Theatrum Poetarum* with absolutely no indication of chronology; for Winstanley's endeavor, unlike Phillips', was to give a chronological survey of English poetry from Robert of Gloucester down to Sir Roger L'Estrange. In any case, he omitted the following authors noted but not dated by Phillips: Thomas Charnock, Sir Ralph Freeman, Robert Gomersal, William Heming, Henry of Winchester, Hugh of York, Cosmo Manucci, Shackerly Marmion, Robert Mead, Thomas Newton, Thomas Preston, and Samuel Rowley. It is also barely possible that Winstanley anticipated (without stating) a principle of selection later employed by Brydges in his abridged edition of the *Theatrum Poetarum* (1800): the exclusion of all English poets who apparently did not write in the vernacular. This hypothesis would account for the omission of fifteen poets, all of whom are approximately dated by Phillips.<sup>8</sup> To accept this theory of exclusion, however, we must allow Winstanley some inconsistency, for he himself mentions only Latin verse in his accounts of such poets as Joseph of Exeter, John Lilly, Leland, Neckam, and Matthew of Paris.

<sup>5</sup> He alludes, however, to Gawin Douglas, pp. 29-30. Douglas is not in the *Theatrum Poetarum*.

<sup>6</sup> He does, however, mention Lady Margaret Cavendish in connection with her husband.

<sup>7</sup> Pages [xiii-xv]. He also remarked the omission of John Weever, who is, however, listed among other poets, pp. 73 and 100.

<sup>8</sup> William Alabaster, Henry Bell, James Duport, Thomas Elmham, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Sylvester Giraldu, John Hauvise, Henry of Huntingdon, Joannes Canonicus, Walter Map, Maurice Morganensis, Peter du Moulin, Maurice Newport, Christopher Ocland, John Peckham.

Winstanley includes about eighteen seventeenth-century poets the dates of whom are not even suggested by Phillips.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, he omits the following late Renaissance or contemporary poets whose period is plainly indicated in the *Theatrum Poetarum* and who, we might suppose, would be known to anyone attempting literary history in the year 1687: Richard Barnfield,<sup>10</sup> Thomas Campion,<sup>11</sup> Francis Davison,<sup>12</sup> John Hall of Durham,<sup>13</sup> William Herbert,<sup>14</sup> William Leighton,<sup>15</sup> Thomas Sackville,<sup>16</sup> Henry Vaughan the Silurist,<sup>17</sup> and Samuel Woodford.<sup>18</sup> One must explain these omissions, and a rea-

<sup>9</sup> Among them are not only such prominent poets as Herbert, Crashaw, Marston, William Browne, Herrick, and Alexander Brome, but also versifiers like Charles Aleyn, Wentworth Smith, Thomas Goffe, Lodovic Carlell, Robert Chamberlain, William Sampson, and Barten Holyday.

<sup>10</sup> Barnfield's volumes of verse (most of them published anonymously) passed quickly into oblivion. Phillips knew nothing of them; he noticed the two poems by Barnfield in *England's Helicon*. Even when Brydges edited the *Theatrum Poetarum* in 1800 he was forced to confess himself unable to "recover a single memorial of his history" (p. 322). Warton knew of Barnfield, but it was Grosart who disinterested him.

<sup>11</sup> Campion's "fame, which was so deservedly great in his own time, was soon extinguished. This is entirely due to historical events, and their effect upon the ephemeral media in which he worked" (P. Vivian, ed., *Works* [Oxford, 1909], p. lviii). Phillips knew only that he was noticed with Spenser and Sidney as a "pregnant wit" in Camden's *Remaines*. He was rescued from oblivion by Bullen in 1889.

<sup>12</sup> Phillips saw the 1621 edition of *A Poetical Rapsody*, noticed that it had "endured four Impressions," and was himself impressed. Winstanley, apparently, was not.

<sup>13</sup> Hall, a poetic prodigy, later a Commonwealth pamphleteer, must have been known to Phillips personally, probably through Milton; Phillips speaks of an unfinished poem which might "have very much advanc't and compleated his Fame."

<sup>14</sup> William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, was uncle of Philip, fifth Earl, who had employed the author of *Theatrum Poetarum* as tutor for his son; Phillips' account, therefore, was largely from personal knowledge. He probably made the acquaintance of Herbert's *Poems* in his patron's library at Wilton.

<sup>15</sup> Phillips merely gives the title and date of Leighton's first book, and seems not to have known of a second, which contains four compositions by John Milton, father of the poet.

<sup>16</sup> Although "praise of Sackville as a poet was common to all pens of the sixteenth century," and Sackville was "certainly of surpassing eminence among the group with whom he was associated in the *Mirror*" (Lily B. Campbell, ed., *Mirror for Magistrates* [Cambridge, 1938], pp. 39 and 35), Phillips knew of him only as a "Tragic writer" mentioned in the *Arte of English Poesie* and apparently knew nothing of the *Mirror*. Winstanley, on the other hand, knew the *Mirror*, probably from the 1587 edition, which begins with the additions of John Higgins. Winstanley gives a two-page notice of Higgins with quotations, notices his association with Baldwin, Ferrers, and Churchyard, but overlooks Sackville.

<sup>17</sup> None of Vaughan's poetry saw a second edition, although *Olor Iscanus* (mentioned by Phillips) was re-issued eight years before Winstanley published his *Lives*. Wood knew of Vaughan through the latter's relative, John Aubrey; but otherwise the Silurist's bid for fame seems to have been foiled by the times, the nature of his verse, and his own retiring disposition.

<sup>18</sup> Winstanley probably overlooked Dr. Woodford, a living contemporary, friend of Flatman, member of the Royal Society, and canon of Winchester. Or was he annoyed by Woodford's effusive praise of *Paradise Lost* in the preface to his *Paraphrase upon the Canticles* (1679)?

sonable inference is that Winstanley either failed to recognize the names at all or else considered these poets too obscure for inclusion. Near the close of the *Lives* he wrote: "And thus have we given you an Account of all the most Eminent *English* Poets that have come to our knowledge." Here and in his preface he admitted that he must have overlooked some poets deserving mention, and he invited the help of others for a revised edition (which never materialized).

Winstanley had the good sense to omit fifteen poets dated by Phillips but described as inferior or almost forgotten.<sup>19</sup> There remain, however, another fifteen dated and favorably discussed by Phillips, yet omitted by Winstanley. Among these are nine early Renaissance poets: Bale, George Boleyn, Elyot, Linacre, Lord Morley, Lucas Shepherd, Nicholas Vaux, Ascham,<sup>20</sup> and George Ferrers.<sup>21</sup> The remaining six are older poets whose names probably meant nothing to Winstanley: Robert Flemming, Godfrey of Winchester, William Grey, Nicholas Kenton, George Ripley, and Rochus.

That most of Winstanley's omissions were deliberate, and were prompted by some sense of literary reputation, is suggested by the fact that he was able to add to the *Theatrum Poetarum* thirty-four poets, almost all of whom could have been noted by Phillips. They are not all modern. To Phillips' list of early English poets Winstanley adds "Havillan," Matthew of Paris, Richard the Hermit, and William of Ramsey. Among more recent poets with whom he supplements Phillips are Thomas Tusser, Giles Fletcher the elder, Sir John Beaumont, Jasper Heywood, Philemon Holland, Sir Thomas Overbury, John Taylor the Water Poet, and the Earl of Rochester.<sup>22</sup>

To a modern critic Winstanley may seem devoid of taste, but his acquaintance with English poetry is impressive. Indeed, Winstanley, unlike Phillips, strikes us as a man who really read and enjoyed poetry. Phillips is more the bibliographer and cataloguer, collecting names and titles; Winstanley is the amateur literary historian, seeking out the verse itself, arranging it in chronological order, and trying to

<sup>19</sup> William Bosworth, Richard Brathwaite, Thomas Collins, John Hall (1525?-1566?), William Hammond, John Hoddesdon, Hugh Holland, John Hopkins and Thomas Sternhold, Sir Francis Hubert, Humphrey Mill, Richard Rablet, William Slatyer, Bartholomew Traheron, and Richard Turner.

<sup>20</sup> Ascham is mentioned, p. 30, but not as a poet.

<sup>21</sup> Phillips continued the error begun by Puttenham and Meres of confusing George Ferrers with "Edward Ferris." Winstanley ignored Phillips' "Ferris," but noticed "Mr. Ferrers" as one associated with Higgins in the *Mirror*.

<sup>22</sup> The others are Sir John Birkenhead, Henry Bradshaw, William Chamberlayne, Hugh Crompton, John Dauncey, John Davies (*d.* 1618), Robert Fabyan, John Gower (*fl.* 1640), Lewys Griffin, Richard Head, Matthew Heywood, John Higgins, Thomas Jordan, Sir William Killigrew, Sir Roger L'Estrange, John Oldham, Edward Phillips, John Quarles, John Studley, John Tatham, Christopher Tye, and Sir George Wharton. Mentioned incidentally are John Owen, Laurence Whitaker, and Gawin Douglas.

pass judgment upon it. Compare the accounts of a number of poets as given in both the *Theatrum* and the *Lives*, and one conclusion is inescapable: Winstanley wanted to see the books that Phillips was often content to list by title, and he made a laudable effort to do so. For example, Winstanley, with nothing of biographical importance to add, quotes a few lines of verse with his reprint or paraphrase of Phillips' remarks on Baston, Fraunce, Flatman, Herbert, Herrick, Holyday, Leland, John Phillips, Waller, and Wild. Altogether he quotes from the works of more than sixty poets. In other instances, instead of quoting, he comments upon the subject matter of a play or a poem which Phillips had merely named.

Winstanley was undoubtedly a compiler and a hack-writer; but he was not lazy, and he had a literary conscience of sorts. The most significant fact about his use of the *Theatrum Poetarum* is not that almost forty per cent of his own volume is largely derivative, but rather that he frequently sought out the books listed by Phillips, actually looked into them, and quoted specimen passages for the enjoyment of his readers. Often he went to Phillips' sources and came away with more than Phillips found (most conspicuously in his use of Kirkman's 1671 play catalogue). If, in spite of all this, it seems unfortunate that he named Phillips but once as a source, let it be remembered to his credit that, unlike Langbaine and a host of later scholars, he made no disparaging remarks when he corrected or supplemented his "original."

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## THE GLOSS TO THE RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER

By HUNTINGTON BROWN

When we read *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, we are invited to imagine that the poet was a minstrel of long ago. The poem has enough of the features of a popular ballad to convey this illusion at the outset and keep it constantly before us. Coleridge has deliberately made the poem quaint, and quaint in a particular way. But not content with imparting quaintness to its form and matter, he has given it a quaint appearance to the eye by means of a device that we associate in our minds principally with early printed books, namely, a marginal gloss.

But if the imaginary poet was a minstrel of long ago, perhaps it is fair to ask, of *how* long ago? Not that we want to inquire into a matter of this kind too closely, but let us see where he stands in relation to the action of the poem.<sup>1</sup>

The action presumably occurred somewhat later than the time of Columbus, for no hint is given that we are in the presence of the first ambitious voyage to the west. On the other hand, it certainly occurred while the religion of the homeland was still Roman Catholicism (witness amongst other things the Hermit of the Wood), and certainly preceded Magellan ("We were the first that ever burst / Into that silent sea"). For the rest, we may imagine that our Mariner had heard tell of Balboa, or not, as we please. The Pacific Ocean is nowhere mentioned in the poem by name, and the idea of an English pioneer rounding the Horn back in the reign of Henry VII or very early in that of Henry VIII is not without its attractions.

But now for the minstrel. Are we to imagine that he composed his poem soon after the voyage he describes, or long after? If the kind and quality of his style mean anything, they surely identify him with the school of ballad-making that improvised heroic narratives in the formalized phrasing that oral composition depends on and in a diction untouched by either slang or learning, and not with the broadside journalists of Shakespeare's London. In other words, he was a real minstrel, and belonged to a distinctly medieval profession, one

<sup>1</sup> Mr. John L. Lowes recalls that Coleridge speaks of the poem as "a work of pure imagination," but also rightly reminds us that "a work of pure imagination is not something fabricated by a *tour de force* from nothing, and suspended without anchorage in fact, in the impalpable ether of a visionary world" (*The Road to Xanadu* [Boston, 1930], pp. 240, 241). *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is not nearly as independent of the real world as a poem like *The Faerie Queene*; indeed the relation it bears to history and geography is direct and close by comparison.

that died when Grub Street came into being. It was not until modern times that literature came under the patronage of the book-buying public, and when it did, the commodity delivered by the writer was necessarily on paper. Our minstrel certainly antedates Shakespeare, and probably comes to rest in our minds at a point very nearly contemporary with the action of his story. If one had to guess at his religious persuasion, it would be, like that of the Mariner, Roman Catholicism, would it not?

But if he antedates Shakespeare and the publishing trade of Elizabethan London, and if he is an oral and not a scribbling ballad-maker, how can we suppose that he furnished and proofread a marginal gloss for a printed edition of his poem? The critics, so far as I know, have not raised this question. The answer is certainly that the minstrel is not meant to be the author of the gloss. The gloss can only be the work of an imaginary editor. Its style (notice the common Cavalier term used to refer to the wedding guests, "gal-lants"), the fact that its writer is learned (his vocabulary includes words like *element*, *invocation*, *invisible*, *inhabitant*, *accomplice*, *accorded*, *supernatural*, *retarded*, *expiated*, *constraineth*), and his particular kind of learning (the authorities he cites are those of seventeenth-century theology and neo-Platonism, and he names the Pacific Ocean), characterize him as a scholar, modern rather than medieval, but distinctly old-fashioned, therefore an early and bookish antiquarian, a figure hardly less quaint in his own way than the minstrel—indeed rather more so—but one who occupies a very different social position and belongs to a much later period of literary history. Coleridge's purpose in thus distinguishing him is worth some attention.

It is a commonplace in the representational arts that if a great extensity of depth, length, or height is to be impressive, the eye of the observer must be supplied with some means of measuring it, and Charles Knight long ago pointed out a striking example of its application in literature in Edgar's famous description of the cliff in *King Lear*. A similar principle regarding extensity or remoteness of time seems to lie behind many framework narratives, especially the type in which an ancient tale is said to have been found in a worm-eaten manuscript; and the gloss to *The Ancient Mariner* would seem to be precisely this kind of framework. Instead of describing a manuscript, Coleridge reproduces the characteristic page of an early printed book, and dramatizes its editor. The typography of the gloss shows us the book, and its matter and style the editor's character.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lowes argues, no doubt correctly, that it was the marginal notes in Purchas' *Pilgrimes* that inspired much of the phrasing of the gloss; but for the interpretation of a poem the important thing is not what went into it but what comes out. So far as our gloss means anything more particular to the

How pious he is, and how sanguine! A poet too, an unconscious one, for poets do not commonly write in the form of a prose commentary, but more poet than grammarian, for only in one place does he do anything but paraphrase the story, and the paraphrase on several occasions rounds out and carefully articulates ideas that are only suggested or remain ambiguous in the poem. Most of these belong, appropriately enough, to the moral strand of the plot (i.e., the theme of crime and punishment), while others are matters of geography, and still others equivalent to stage directions.<sup>3</sup> His one strictly editorial comment occurs where we first encounter the supernatural. He explains the nature of the spirit that followed the Mariner's ship after the killing of the albatross, and assures us that such spirits do indeed inhabit this planet. He thus betrays much about both himself and his age: his passion to think the best of his author, his knowledge of the critical theories of his time (in his deference to the old doctrine that good poets are faithful to the truth), his loyalty to philosophical tradition (he believes in the old pneumatology), and his recognition perforce of a world about him no longer visibly frequented by supernatural beings. If we can imagine Don Quixote an Englishman, Sir Thomas Browne a connoisseur of ballads, or Bishop Percy unenlightened by the Enlightenment, we shall be in a position to form a right idea of our editor.

It is a naïve enthusiast rather than a critic who thus reports the shooting of the albatross: "The ancient mariner killeth the pious bird of good omen," and who concludes of the Mariner that "ever and anon throughout his future life an agony constraineth him to travel from land to land, and to teach by his own example, love and

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reader than early printing in general, it surely suggests, not a work or works in prose, but, rather, early editions of poetry. Actually poems were not printed nearly as often in the Renaissance or the seventeenth century with marginal glosses as prose was, and when they were, the gloss was more often the poet's own commentary than that of a separate or later editor. Nevertheless, the kind of reader who is likely to consider the matter at all—and I am not thinking only of professional scholars—will probably remember having seen at some time, perhaps in a museum showcase, a page of one of the many Italian editions of the *Divina Commedia* with the gloss of Landino, or, failing that, a page of a seventeenth-century edition of something like Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island*, Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory* or *Christ's Triumph*, Harrington's *Orlando Furioso*, or any of several poems by John Taylor the "Water-Poet." In all the early English books containing glossed poems that I remember having seen, with a single exception (*Strange and Wonderful Prophecies by the Lady Eleanor Audeley*, London: Robert Ibbitson, 1649), the gloss is actually the work of the poet, but also in nearly every case the poet writes his gloss in a sufficiently distinct style to indicate that he not only has doffed his singing robes, but wishes to pretend that he is speaking as a different person. The archetypal running glosses are presumably those accompanying the manuscripts and early printed editions of the Scriptures, and these may be supposed to have determined the tradition that the margin of a modern book is editorial territory.

<sup>3</sup> On the relation of the gloss to the poem as a factual account of the action, see R. B. McElderry, Jr., "Coleridge's Revision of 'The Ancient Mariner,'" *Studies in Philology*, vol. 29 (1932), pp. 88-90.

reverence to all things that God made and loveth." Who but a poet can write of "the journeying moon and the stars that still sojourn," "God's creatures of the Great calm," or "the courts of the sun"? And whom but Sir Thomas Browne, or possibly Robert Burton, should we expect to cite, and in just this way, "the learned Jew, Josephus, and the Platonick Constantinopolitan, Michel Psellus"?

Strictly speaking, of course, this antiquarian is a man without a period, for there were no well-known collectors of popular ballads, if any whatsoever, before Bishop Percy, and nobody later than the Restoration wrote the alternately inspired and pedantic style in which the gloss is composed, but he presents no difficulty to the imagination. We simply understand that he lived long enough after the time of the minstrels for ballads to have become antiques, but early enough for marginal glosses to be in common use. He could not have been synchronized with the historical ballad-revival, for this barely antedated Coleridge's own birth (Percy survived until 1811), and it was an artistic necessity that his style should be appropriate both to an archaic typography and to the character of a long-extinct, pre-Bentleian species of bookworm. The only style that could serve had to be as old as the mid-seventeenth century at the latest, because prose, at least as the common reader would see it, had hardly changed since Dryden, and it had been far too prosy for the required characterization.

The gloss, then, serves to emphasize the remoteness of the story and its teller by setting them off at two removes from the contemporary scene, but is no mere mechanical device. What makes it so effective is the contrasting personalities of the minstrel and his editor, each so consistent and so distinctly associated with an epoch in the history of the imagination. Neither could have been dramatized without reference to literary history, and the more one thinks about the antiquarian, the more likely it seems that he is meant to be not only an expositor of fact, a marker of temporal perspective, and an interesting personality, but also a character designed to infect the reader with his own enthusiasm for a type of poetry that the romantic generation had not yet learned to appreciate.

Mr. R. B. McElderry, in the article I have cited, makes clear that Coleridge in his two revisions of the poem showed considerable deference to the charge brought by the hostile reviewers of the original version that this latter was obscure and difficult. He shows that the final version, that of 1817, is far more coherent than the objectionable one of 1798, and simpler too in its diction. He shows that the gloss, which was now added for the first time, provides in several places a clearer account of the action than the poem does;<sup>4</sup> and it may be that the need of greater clarity than Coleridge felt he could

<sup>4</sup> Mr. McElderry points out, indeed, that the gloss is practically indispensable to our full understanding of the plot. He shows, for example, that only

make the poem exhibit by itself was the strongest of the several considerations that led him to compose it. Both Mr. McElderry and Mr. Lowes acknowledge the beauty of its style, and remark upon the symphonic or orchestral effect which it and the poem together produce, but neither writes as if thinking of two personalities behind the music. They seem to see Coleridge as the only begetter of both the prose and the verse, and to let the matter go at that.

But the reviewers of 1798-1799 were impressed by the strangeness of the poem as well as by its obscurity. Mr. McElderry's article tells us that it was variously said to be "the strangest story," "a rhapsody of unintelligible wildness," "a Dutch attempt at German sublimity," and "fertile in unmeaning miracles." In other words, its "Gothic" wonders and marvels were displeasing to the neo-classical taste. How conservative the age still was can be gauged from the fact that Southey, Lamb, and Wordsworth himself were among the more severe of those who undertook to appraise Coleridge's poem. The question for Coleridge seems to have been whether he could, if he so desired, by any means reconcile classical-minded readers to a tale in which "miracles" (unlike obscurity) were absolutely essential. I believe that he did desire to conciliate the men of reason, and that his method of doing so was remarkably subtle.

It needed to be, for the old prejudice against the Middle Ages was deeply rooted in the enlightened philosophy. Amid all the currents of speculation and scholarship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that were to lead in the end to modern historiography and a theory of progress, there persisted pretty widely the old view that human nature is everywhere and at all times the same, with its implication that history, devoted as it is in large measure to men's apparent differences and peculiarities, attends too much to what is non-essential and is, to that extent, a study of negative interest. There also persisted a tendency, chiefly inherited from Descartes, to gauge the truth of a proposition by its immediate plausibility rather than by a patient investigation of its consequences. In quarters where these ideas prevailed the only ages of history that men studied very much or were qualified to appreciate were those in which they could see manifestations of their own kind of enlightenment, the Greek and especially the Roman; and they were repelled rather than attracted by the little that they knew about primitive civilizations and the so-called Dark and Middle Ages. It was the

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by consulting it can we be sure at the time that Life-in-Death and not Death wins the game of dice, since the wording of the poem leaves the matter in doubt (and if we were meant to be left in doubt, why should the gloss tell us the fact?), or draw the inference, not stated in the poem at all, that the crew of the ship, by justifying the Mariner's crime, make themselves accomplices in it. One is bound, I think, to agree with his careful conclusion that from the reader's point of view, "so far as the gloss provides a clearer account of the common action, by that much the poem is made to appear to miss the clarity of conception it might have had" (p. 92).

ancients, however, who had taught that man is a social animal, and that magnanimity is his highest virtue, and decorum the basis of good art and manners; and to all these doctrines the eighteenth century heartily subscribed. A place for everybody, so ran their thought, and everybody in his place; and they remembered the tag in Terence: "Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto."

If readers of this persuasion were to be attracted to *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, they must be enabled to see it above all as a drama of human life. Coleridge must avoid any direct challenge to their disbelief in the strange and the wonderful. He must show the events in a suitable perspective, and, by putting his characters into high relief and keeping them true to type, solicit a large-minded indulgence towards everything improbable or otherwise "Gothic" that might enter into the picture. What he does in the gloss, as I see it, is to provide a chorus to this end. One function of a dramatic chorus is to convey mere information; but a more important one is to set the right mood and point of view for the spectator. Coleridge has made his poem virtually a drama. He has actually given us two characters who fulfill the paramount choric function, the Wedding-Guest within the story, and the imaginary editor outside.<sup>5</sup> He has humanized the impossible events of the voyage by refracting them, first, through the personality of the Mariner who reports it, second, through that of the Wedding-Guest who listens, so much against his will, third—by implication—through the minstrel, and finally, through the pious antiquarian. The propriety of this technique ought to have satisfied Thomas Rymer himself. The antiquarian is distinguished from the other characters in that he is the most detached and stands nearest in point of time to the modern reader—so near and yet so far—and his role has therefore a peculiar importance. A sincere believer, even to the man of reason, is venerable and lends a certain dignity to the object of his devotion, no matter what this may be ("Lo the poor Indian!"); so that the poem, whatever it might amount to in a detached, rational view, could never seem altogether contemptible in the presence of one who accords it—not praise, for that would be transparent—but full faith and rapt attention.

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<sup>5</sup> That the Wedding-Guest is a chorus character has long been recognized, and I take it that once the existence of the imaginary editor is granted, his choric function will be immediately apparent. I suspect, however, that our reaction to the poem could be controlled by the gloss to a considerable extent without our understanding exactly whence it derives its authority. Perhaps Coleridge has been too subtle, and the gloss yields all that could be expected of it by common-sense standards when it is read simply as a gratuitous prose variant of the poem. Still, many things that seem obvious to us today in the poetry of the past have not always seemed so, and it need therefore argue no artistic weakness in any literary work that some part of its meaning should long await formal recognition.

## WHEN LANDOR LEFT HOME

By R. H. SUPER

In his recent biography of Walter Savage Landor, Mr. Malcolm Elwin gives substantially the same account of Landor's separation from his wife as John Forster had given in 1869, but to it he adds a motive for the separation in Mrs. Landor's infidelity. Whatever his reason for this addition—and he goes so far as to name her lover—he cites no documents which so much as suggest it, and at one point even apologizes for lack of evidence in Landor's correspondence on the ground that the poet "naturally disclosed no suggestion" that would arouse the suspicion of his relatives in England. Mr. Elwin apparently used materials of two sorts for this part of his biography: Landor's manuscript letters to his English relatives—all of which Forster saw when he was writing the earlier biography—and a letter from Charles Armitage Brown to Landor, for the text of which Mr. Elwin had to depend on Forster alone. If these documents contained evidence of Mrs. Landor's adultery, why did Forster (who might understandably, of course, not have mentioned it) still blame Landor for the separation?<sup>1</sup>

In one very important detail, certainly, both Forster and Mr. Elwin are wrong, and the error is damaging to the latter's theory. The story they tell is that, late in March, 1835, while Brown was a dinner guest at the Landor villa in Fiesole shortly before his own departure from Italy, Mrs. Landor upbraided her husband so violently that Landor in consequence left the villa for ever (Mr. Elwin imagines "the contemptuous abuse of a shameless adulteress to a complacent cuckold," though Brown clearly indicates a quarrel over a specific act of Landor's). In order to justify himself, Landor requested Brown by letter to set down an account of the quarrel and address it to him at *Poste Restante*, Florence. Brown, in the bustle of moving, delayed his compliance until he reached Genoa on April 4. After Landor received this letter, according to Forster, he went to the Baths of Lucca for a time, and did not arrive in England until the autumn.

But there is actually abundant evidence that Landor was living at his villa with his family for at least four months beyond the date of this supposedly final departure. On April 3, the day before Brown's letter was sent, he wrote to Mrs. Paynter, describing his plantings at Fiesole:

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Landor told her side of the affair to Crabb Robinson on June 4, 1837: that Landor was violent, and that their difference in age (in 1835 she was 41, Landor 60) had made them increasingly incompatible. Robinson found her conduct apparently very respectable (E. J. Morley, ed., *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers* [London, 1938], II, 523).

Since you left Florence I have rarely gone within the gates. Yesterday I finished the planting of two thousand vines, and in the autumn I shall plant as many more, besides seventy olives. I did think of going to England, but if I do, I shall return by November.<sup>2</sup>

About the middle of April he wrote to Lady Blessington (the letter was postmarked April 25 on its arrival in London),<sup>3</sup> and when she replied, he wrote to her again, probably about the middle of May.<sup>4</sup> Richard Chenevix Trench in his journal for Monday, May 4, says that Landor was then living at Fiesole.<sup>5</sup> Early in June Landor must have written the letter which Crabb Robinson received in London on June 15.<sup>6</sup> By then Robinson had heard gossip from other sources that Landor was going to separate from his wife. On July 1, Landor wrote to Southey's friend, Mrs. Hodson, and the postmark was still Florence.<sup>7</sup> From that time we hear nothing of him until he wrote to Lady Blessington from Wales on September 28,<sup>8</sup> to explain his not having seen her when he passed through London. She replied on October 1.<sup>9</sup>

It is probable, then, that Landor did leave his home after the quarrel that Brown witnessed; but just as, in 1858-1859, he left and returned three times before settling away from his family, so in the spring of 1835 he quickly returned, unwilling to make the break which inevitably came in mid-summer. His own account, implying frank recognition of utter incompatibility, may well give a truer picture of the final parting than Forster's and Elwin's story:

Landor gave me a characteristic account of his parting from his family. 'There was no quarrel,' he said, but he had resolved in his own mind to leave his home. The evening before, it seems, he had said, 'Mrs. Landor, will you allow me the use of your carriage to-morrow morning to take me the first stage out of Florence?' The request was accorded, no further words passed between this ill-assorted couple, 'and so the next day I left for ever,' said Landor.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> S. Wheeler, ed., *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Landor* (London, 1897), pp. 95-96. Wheeler conjectures the year as 1833, but references to Brown's recent departure and to *The Last Days of Pompeii* prove his error.

<sup>3</sup> A. Morrison, *Blessington Papers* (London, 1895), pp. 114-15.

<sup>4</sup> Nicoll and Wise, *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1895), I, 189-91.

<sup>5</sup> R. C. Trench, *Letters and Memorials* (London, 1888), I, 195.

<sup>6</sup> Morley, *op. cit.*, II, 465.

<sup>7</sup> MS letter offered for sale by Dobell's Antiquarian Bookstore, Tunbridge Wells, Catalogue no. 63 (1941), item 323.

<sup>8</sup> Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Morrison's date, "February 28, 1835," is impossible; I conjecture September 28 because Lady Blessington's reply is dated October 1.

<sup>9</sup> R. R. Madden, *Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*, 2nd ed. (London, 1855), II, 360.

<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Andrew Crosse, "Walter Savage Landor," *Temple Bar*, XCII (June, 1891), 195. Landor's "for ever" ended with his return in 1858.

## AN UNIDENTIFIED REVIEW, POSSIBLY BY SCOTT

By JOHN D. KERN

On December 3, 1810, Walter Scott remarked in a letter to John Murray, the London publisher:

I have sent Gifford the Petrarch but with an earnest request it may not be used without much modification. It would I find be very disagreeable in its present shape to Lord W.<sup>1</sup>

The only article to which Scott could possibly be referring appeared in the *Quarterly Review*<sup>2</sup> for September, 1812. The twelfth article of Number 15 is a review of *An Historical and Critical Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch*.<sup>3</sup> The author and the date of publication are not indicated in the *Quarterly*. The title page of this *Essay*, of which I have a copy at hand, states that it was printed in Edinburgh in 1810 by James Ballantyne and Co. for John Ballantyne and Co., Edinburgh, and John Murray, London. On the back-strip of the copy before me are the words, "By Tytler." The author, according to the British Museum Catalogue, was Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee (1747-1813). A second edition of this *Essay* was published in Edinburgh in 1812, apparently with no changes or additions. Both editions recorded in the British Museum Catalogue, like the copy before me, are described as having "pp. vii. 269." The *Quarterly* is obviously in error in stating that the work contained 279 pages.<sup>4</sup>

The "Lord W." of Scott's letter is almost certainly Tytler, who was a neighbor of Scott's. What significance attaches to the delay in publishing the review is a matter for speculation. Gifford, the editor, may have resisted the pressure which it was Scott's custom to exert in behalf of Ballantyne publications until the appearance of a second edition of the *Essay*. Under such circumstances, the omission of the date does not seem unusual.

The article in the *Quarterly* may or may not have been altered, as Scott suggested, by the editor or by someone else. Parts of it, even after possible modification, might still have seemed "very disagreeable" to "Lord W." if he were a sensitive man. For example, the reviewer points out a number of mistakes in the sketch of the life of Petrarch and questions "the authenticity of the portrait of

<sup>1</sup> H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols. (London, 1932-1937), II, 410.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 181-93.

<sup>3</sup> "8vo. pp. 279. Edinburgh; Ballantyne."

<sup>4</sup> See note 3, above.

Laura, p. 12,"<sup>5</sup> by which he presumably means the illustration fronting the first page of the *Essay*. However, the review as a whole is mildly favorable.

So far as I have been able to discover, there has been no previous attribution of this review to Scott or to anyone else. It does not appear among any of Scott's works nor in any lists or bibliographies of his writings. Moreover, there is no entry for it in Murray's *Contributors' Book*.<sup>6</sup> It is unlikely that Gifford, all things considered, would have substituted his own or someone else's review for the one sent him by the increasingly famous Walter Scott. Of course, there is a possibility that Scott did not write the review in the first place but merely procured it from the author, showed it to Lord Woodhouselee, and sent it on to Gifford. But future bibliographers should at least feel constrained to consider Scott among the possible authors of the article.

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<sup>5</sup> VIII, 192.

<sup>6</sup> A copy of Murray's unpublished list has been generously provided by Professor Myron F. Brightfield.

## ST. HELENA ALS IRDISCHES PARADIES

Von FRIEDRICH GUNDOLF\*

Sankt Helena hatte schon vor Napoleons Leidenszeit in der Literatur einen gewissen Ruhm, doch ganz anderer Art, nämlich als eine paradiesische Insel. Die Klagen des Gefangenen über die mörderische Luft und felsige Öde hätten die Engländer bei größerer Belesenheit zurückweisen können mit dem Lob, das ihr ein gefeierter Autor des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts spendete in einem viel gelesenen Werk. Baltasar Gracián (oder, wie er in seinen Werken oft heißt, Lorenzo Gracián) beginnt seinen allegorischen Roman *El Criticón*,<sup>1</sup> mit der Geschichte eines Schiffbrüchigen Critilo, der mit seinem Freunde Andrenio verschlagen wird auf eine Insel, gleichsam das Juwel von Philipps des Zweiten weltbeherrschender Krone:

... perla del mar o esmeralda de la tierra: dióla nombre augusta emperatriz, para que ella lo fuesse de las islas, corona del Oceano. Sirve, pues, la isla de Santa Elena (en la escala del un mundo al otro) de descanso a la portátil Europa, y ha sido siempre venta franca, mantenida de la divina próspera clemencia en medio de inmensos golfos, a las católicas flotas del Oriente.<sup>2</sup>

Das Buch Graciáns nahm—wie andere spanische Schriften aus dem Zeitalter des Corneille, worin die Franzosen ihr eigenes ritterliches Pathos gesteigert und barbarisch reizvoll aufgehöhht wiederfanden, und wovon sie zugleich ihren helleren Geschmack, ihre zierlichere Sitte und gesellige Anmut selbstgefällig abhoben—seinen Weg in die französische Sprache. (Sire de Maunory gab 1696 eine Übersetzung des ersten Teils heraus).

Von da geriet er in die simplizianischen Schriften unseres Grimelshausen: "Der fliegende Wanders-Mann nach dem Mond/ oder Eine gar kurzweilige und gar seltsame Beschreibung der Neuen Welt des Mondes/ wie solche von einem gebohrnen Spanier/ mit Namen Dominico Gonsales, beschrieben: und der Nach-Welt bekannt worden ist. Aus dem Frantzösischen ins Teutsche übersetzt . . ."<sup>3</sup> Dieser Gonsales ist eine ähnliche Fiktion wie der Simplicissimus selbst und soll als Träger wunderbarer Abenteuer zugleich die verweltlichte Fernsucht und den sachengierigen Wissenstrieb, das Behagen an Kenntnissen, an Schein-Authentizität der deutschen

\* This article by the late Professor Gundolf was found in his *Nachlaß* by Mrs. Gundolf and was given to Professor August Closs of the University of Bristol (England) for publication in the *Modern Language Quarterly*.

<sup>1</sup> Primera Parte, Zaragoza, 1651.

<sup>2</sup> *El Criticón*, Edición crítica por M. Romera-Navarro (Philadelphia and Oxford, 1938), pp. 103-04.

<sup>3</sup> Nürnberg, 1699.

Barockleser befriedigen. Durch eine Entdeckung von Julie Cellarius<sup>4</sup> ist freilich dem genialen Verfasser des *Simplicissimus* die zweideutige Urheberschaft des simplizianischen Anhangs aberkannt und als Verfasser der Pfälzer Balthasar Venator<sup>5</sup> festgestellt worden. Er ist bekannt aus dem Zinkgrefschen Druck der Opitzianischen Poeten von 1624 und als ein Freund Moscheroschs. Dem eigentlichen Reiz des barocken Sankt Helena-Ruhms tut es indes keinen Abtrag, daß Graciáns Übermittler kein Genie, sondern nur ein wackerer Compiler war. Soviel darf man dem Venator glauben, daß er durch ein französisches Buch auf seinen fliegenden Wandersmann gekommen ist; und dieses französische Buch ist wahrscheinlich eine Übersetzung des berühmtesten spanischen Modeschriftstellers aus den Jahrzehnten, da die spanische Vorherrschaft an Frankreich übergang. Gemeinsam ist dem Gracián und dem Venator die erzählerische Einkleidung: durch einen Schiffbruch gelangen der allegorische Critilo, der Träger menschlichen Schicksals und der fingierte Autobiograph Dominico Gonsales mit seinen genauen Berichten über seine Geburt, Eltern, Studien und Kriegs-Erlebnissen nach Sankt Helena. Venators Schiffbrüchiger hat einen Mohren bei sich namens Diego, der Graciáns findet auf Sankt Helena Andrenio. Beide Paare erinnern an Don Quixote und Sancho Pansa in ihrer unzertrennlichen und gegensätzlichen Zusammengehörigkeit. Zugleich aber auch spuken sie Robinson und seinen Gefährten vor — wie denn die Gesamt-Stimmung des ozeanischen Paradieses als Ereignis und als Zustand schon die Übersättigung der weltkundigen und weltdurstigen Zivilisations-Menschen verrät, welche im Beginn des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts den Welterfolg des Robinson, am Ende den Rousseaus zeitigte. (Ein Vorbote beider ist Shakespeares Sturm mit seinem Prospero und seinem Caliban).

Venators Schilderung ist dem deutschen Polyhistoren-Geschmack gemäß viel ausführlicher und statistischer als des Spaniers bewußt gedrungene Winke. Auch innerhalb der Wunder-Erzählung gab er "kuriöse Relationen".<sup>6</sup> Der Übergang von Wissenskram zu Fernerreiz, das Hin und Her von Roman zu Enzyklopädie hat ja auch den Eberhard Werner Happel<sup>7</sup> zugleich als Fabulierer und als Schulmeister ermächtigt. Die behäbige Beschreibung aus dem *fliegenden Wandersmann* lasse ich hier folgen:

Wir kamen aber kaum biß nach Capo de bonne Esperance, da befiel ich/ und wähere die Kranckheit ziemlich lange/ und hätte wol daran sterben dürfften/ wenn nicht zu meinem Glück uns ins Gesicht gekommen wäre die schöne Insel von S. Helena, welche man mit Recht nennen könnte das irrdische Para-

<sup>4</sup> Zur Seltzamen Traumgeschichte, *Euphorion*, Siebzehntes Ergänzungsheft [Grimmelshausen], 1924, pp. 97-99.

<sup>5</sup> 1594-1664.

<sup>6</sup> E. W. Happel, *Relationes curiosae*, 1682.

<sup>7</sup> 1647-1690.

diß/denn nicht allein die Luft daselbst sehr gesund ist/ sondern es ist auch  
 das Erdreich sehr fruchtbar/ und bringet häufig hervor alles/ was zu  
 Unterhaltung des Menschlichen Lebens nöthig ist. Und darff die Sache keines  
 Beweißthums/ weil auch die jungen Knaben in Spanien wissen davon zu  
 sagen/ als welche von der Herrlichkeit dieser Insel von andern haben viel  
 erzehlen hören/ und verwundere ich mich nicht unbillig/ daß unser König  
 keine Leute dahin schicket/ die solche Insel bewohnen/ und einige Schantzen  
 dahin legen/ weils es so ein bequemer Ort ist/ da diejenige sich erfrischen  
 können/ welche nach Indien reisen/ denn es sonsten unmöglich ist dahin  
 zu reisen/ und den Fuß unterwegs ans Land nicht zu setzen: diese Insel  
 liegt auff 15. Grad gegen Süden/ und hat in Umkreis 9. Italiänische Meilen/  
 und ist biß auff 300. Meilen sonst kein festes Land zu finden/ wie auff 100.  
 Meilen keine andere Insul/ also/ daß es gleichsam für ein Wunderwerck  
 der Natur zu halten ist/ daß in einer so weiten und ungestümmen See noch  
 zu sehen ist ein so klein Stück von der Erden. Gegen Süden zu/ hat diese  
 Insul einen sehr schönen Hafen/ bey welchem viel Hütten gebauet sind/ so  
 die Portugiesen dahin haben setzen lassen/ den Schiff-Leuten zu mehrer  
 Bequemlichkeit. Das denckwürdigste ist eine kleine Capelle/ so mit einem  
 hohen Thurn geziert/ darauff auch eine Glocke ist. So liegt auch nicht weit  
 davon ein Fluß/ da man süßes und frisches Wasser haben kan. Diesen Ort  
 machen auch annehmlich die schöne Spatziergänge/ so auff beyden Seiten  
 gezieret und besetzt sind mit allerley schönen frucht. Bäumen/ als Pome-  
 rantzen/ Citronen und Granaten/ und andern dergleichen Bäumen/ welche  
 das gantze Jahr durch Frucht bringen/ nicht weniger auch die Weinstöcke/  
 die Feigen/ Birn/ Pflaumen- und Olivenbäume. Man findet auch eine  
 Frucht/ welche ins gemein genennet wird Damaxelas, doch ist dieselbige  
 nicht gar häufig/ Äpfel sind da nicht/ hingegen aber andere gemeine  
 Gartengewächs/ als da ist Petrosilien/ Portulack/ Roßmarin/ Lactuken in  
 großer Menge. Das Getraide/ als Gersten/ Erbsen/ Bohnen/ bringet die  
 Erde hervor/ und wird doch nicht besäet. Von allerley Vieh findet sich  
 auch/ was andere Länder haben/ sonderlich sind da viel Ziegen/ Schweine/  
 Hammel/ Pferde/ so schnell lauffen können. So mangelt es auch nicht an  
 Geflügel/ als Rephünern und andern Hünern/ Phasanen/ Holtztauben/ und  
 dergleichen. Von allerley Art Vögel hat man das Jahr durch/ sonderlich aber  
 im Monat Januarii und Martii siehet man eine überaus große Menge von  
 wilden Schwänen/ deren ich bald mehr gedencken werde/ welche Schwanen  
 wie unser Guckuck und Nachtigal in ein ander Land ziehen/ und sich nicht  
 wieder sehen lassen/ als zu einer gewissen Zeit des Jahrs.<sup>8</sup>

Aus der Vergleichung des Graciánischen Berichts mit dem Vena-  
 tors scheint man folgendes schließen zu dürfen: Venator war durch  
 Gracián auf Sankt Helena hingewiesen worden, hat sich aber dann  
 nach weiteren Einzelheiten umgetan und diese seiner Fiktion eingear-  
 beitet. Die tragische Insel ist so in zwei sinnbildliche Bücher des  
 großen Wissenschafts-Jahrhunderts geraten als ein irdisches Erlö-  
 sungs- und Entrückungs-Wunschbild, 150 Jahre bevor sie der his-  
 torischen Empfindsamkeit als irdische Hölle des gestürzten Titanen  
 ausgemalt und vorgeflucht wurde.

<sup>8</sup> *Simplicissimi* dritter Teil . . . (Felsecker, Nürnberg, 1699), pp. 522-23.



## EKKEHARD'S INFLUENCE UPON HROTSVITHA A STUDY IN LITERARY INTEGRITY

By EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

Recently, while re-reading Hrotsvitha's works, I was forcibly struck by the impressive similarity between the important episode, in her *Gesta Ottonis*, of the escape of Adelheid, the widow of the Italian king Lothar and later the consort of Otto I, from King Beringarius (especially lines 530 to 580<sup>1</sup>), and the episode, in Ekkehard's *Waltharilied*, of the escape of Walther and Hiltgund from Attila (especially lines 231 to 435<sup>2</sup>). This parallel between Hrotsvitha and Ekkehard is all the more surprising since in general her *Gesta Ottonis*, like her legend of Pelagius, is noted for its originality of treatment. In her preface to the work, Hrotsvitha herself complains that lack of sources and previous literary treatment has caused her considerable difficulty:

In huius sudore progressionis quantum meae inscitiae obstiterit difficultatis, ipsa conicere potestis, quia haec eadem nec prius scripta repperi, nec ab aliquo digestim sufficienterque dicta elicere quivi, sed veluti si aliquis nescius ignoti per latitudinem saltus esset iturus, ubi omnis semita nivali densitate velaretur obducta, hicque nullo duce, sed solo praemonstrantium nutu inductus, nunc per devia erraret, nunc recti tramitem callis improvise incurreret, donec tandem emensa arboreae medietate spissitudinis locum optatae comprehenderet quietis, illicque gradum figens ulterius progredi non praesumeret, usquedum vel alio superveniente induceretur vel praecedentis vestigia subsequeretur: haut aliter ego, magnificarum prolixitatem rerum iussa ingredi, regaliū multiplicatam gestorum nutando et vacillando aegerrime transcurri, hisque admodum lassata competenti in loco pausando silesco nec augustalis proceritatem excellentiae sine ducatu appono subire.<sup>3</sup>

The situation in the pertinent passage of the *Gesta Ottonis* is as follows. Adelheid, recently widowed, is deprived of all her treasures by Beringarius, left only with a single lady in waiting, and entrusted to the care of a cruel count who consigns her to a dark dungeon. A friendly bishop, Adelhard, advises her to plan flight and take refuge behind his walls. But how, she wonders, is the escape to be accomplished? Her lady in waiting and a kind priest are the only friends accessible to her. Taking counsel together, they decide to dig a secret subterranean passageway. When it is finished,

<sup>1</sup> *Hrotsvithae Opera* denuo edidit codicis Coloniensis lectionem primum adiecit Karolus Strecker (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930), pp. 246-47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ekkehard's Waltharilied* hrsg. v. Karl Strecker (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907), pp. 15-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ed. cit.*, pp. 227-28.

she sets out one night with her two accomplices, while everyone else is asleep. Eluding the guards, she proceeds all night long, but at daybreak hides in caves, in dense forests, or in fields of high grain. Then at nightfall she sets out again. The morning after the escape the guards report to the count that she is gone. He, terrified, searches everywhere, but in vain. Finally he tells the king, who flies into a rage and sends out his men to search for the fugitive. He himself joins in the hunt with a troop of soldiers strong enough to overcome a foe. He scours the country and explores the grain fields, where he pushes aside the stalks with his lance, but does not find the hiding, terror-stricken queen, for Christ is on Adelheid's side. Exhausted, she finally reaches Adelhard's residence, where she is concealed.

In the *Waltharilied*, it will be remembered, Walther and Hiltgund, though only hostages, have been virtual prisoners at the court of Attila for a long time. Walther, returning from a successful war on Attila's behalf, secretly converses with Hiltgund about their escape. She agrees after voicing some suspicions, and they plan the ways and means of their flight. On the appointed day they prepare a sumptuous feast for Attila, and Walther provides so much drink that the king and all his men sink into a stupor. Quickly the two plotters, well armed and provided, make their escape on Attila's best horse. They live by fishing and fowling, and travel only at night. During the day they anxiously hide in the forest, Hiltgund quivering whenever she hears a bird or a crackling branch. Avoiding inhabited places, they travel along lonely mountainous paths. Late on the day after their departure, when Attila and his men finally regain consciousness, and his wife Helche shrewdly discovers that the two hostages have fled, wrath and consternation prevail at court. Attila spends several sleepless nights. His plea to his men to pursue the fugitives is of no avail, for none would dare encounter Walther even if he were found. After forty days of flight through the wilderness, the fugitives finally reach the Rhine and, with it, safety.

It will be noted that there are numerous points of similarity in these episodes. (1) The victims are being held against their will and find their condition irksome. (2) Flight is planned by a man. (3) At first Adelheid and Hiltgund both are skeptical as to the feasibility of the plan. (4) The plotters employ a ruse to get away. (5) They hoodwink their captors. (6) They flee in the dead of night and travel only under cover of night. (7) Adelheid and Hiltgund are both frightened and nervous. (8) During the day the fugitives hide. (9) The captors are struck with consternation upon discovering the escape. (10) They have fits of wrath. (11) Their plans to recapture the victims are foiled, in one case by Christ, in the other by the Huns' fear of Walther.

It seemed hardly likely that such striking resemblances between works written within forty years of each other (the *Waltharilied* approximately 926, the *Gesta Ottonis* in or soon after 967) should have passed unnoticed by critics of these works. And, indeed, both Paul von Winterfeld and Karl Strecker, who devoted practically their entire lives to research on the literature of this period, note this apparent influence of the *Waltharilied* upon Hrotsvitha, the former in his critical edition of Hrotsvitha's works,<sup>4</sup> the latter in a long critical article on Hrotsvitha in the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*,<sup>5</sup> as well as in his edition of the *Waltharilied*.<sup>6</sup>

It seems that the *Waltharilied*, which became very popular soon after its composition, and of which numerous early copies were made, came to Hrotsvitha's notice through a now lost manuscript (related to the extant Stuttgart manuscript) in the monastery of Emmeram in Regensburg. As is known, Hrotsvitha's abbess Gerberga had intimate relations with that monastery. The so-called Munich codex of Hrotsvitha's own works was rediscovered there by Celtes in 1493.

Neither von Winterfeld nor Strecker, however, takes full advantage of the discovery of Hrotsvitha's dependence upon Ekkehard, especially of the opportunity it presents for gaining a deeper insight into Hrotsvitha's practices as a writer—insight specifically into the way she makes use of earlier literary material. Her readers are familiar with her consistent habit of depreciating herself and her literary ability. Partly influenced by the tendency of medieval prologists toward self-disparagement, and partly no doubt impelled by genuine modesty, Hrotsvitha again and again underrates her own ability as a writer. In her preface to the legends she writes:

Fateor namque me haut mediocriter errasse non solum in dinoscendis syllabarum naturis, verum etiam in dictionibus componendis. . . .<sup>7</sup>

In the same preface she adds (p. 2):

. . . ne crediti talentum ingenioli sub obscuro torpens pectoris antro rubigine exterminaretur neglegentiae. . . .

In the second half of her legends she describes her work as "nimium vitiosi" (p. 81), while in the preface to the dramas she exclaims:

. . . huius vilitas dictationis multo inferior, multo contractior penitusque dissimilis eius, quem proponebam imitari . . . (p. 113).

<sup>4</sup> *Hrotsvithae Opera* recensuit et emendavit Paulus de Winterfeld (Bero-lini: apud Weidmannos, 1902), p. 219. This work (now out of date insofar as the text is concerned) is one of the most glaring examples I know of severely exclusive, esoteric erudition.

<sup>5</sup> Band XI (1903), p. 638.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. viii-ix.

<sup>7</sup> *Ed. cit.*, p. 1.

She is inflicted with "inertiam," and her works show "vitiosi sermonis rusticitas" (pp. 114-15). In the *Epistola* to the dramas she describes herself as "nesciola, nullaue probitate idonea" (p. 114), while in the prologue to the *Gesta*, as we have seen, she compares herself to one walking alone through a dense forest, and alludes to the weakness of her sex.

Now the question naturally arises: If Hrotsvitha was really as inept as she describes herself, how would she go about utilizing such a passage as *Waltharilied*, lines 231-435, which apparently appealed to her strongly and suggested her own treatment of the Adelheid episode? We would certainly expect her parallel passage to abound in verbal reminiscences, perhaps even to the point of slavish imitation. But what is the actual situation?

Walther's proposals to Hiltgund are expressed by Ekkehard as follows in lines 230-234:

Provocat et tali caram sermone puellam:  
'Exilium pariter patimur iam tempore tanto,  
Non ignorantes, quid nostri forte parentes  
Inter se nostra de re fecere futura.  
Quamne diu tacito premimus haec ipsa palato?'

Again in lines 241-247:

'Absit quod memoras! dextrorsum porrige sensum!  
Noris me nihilum simulata mente locutum  
Nec quicquam nebulae vel falsi interfore crede.  
Nullus adest nobis exceptis namque duobus.  
Si nossem temet mihi promptam impendere mentem  
Atque fidem votis servare per omnia cautis,  
Pandere cuncta tibi cordis mysteria vellem.'

Again in lines 261 ff.:

'Publica custodem rebus te nempe potestas  
Fecerat, idcirco memor haec mea verba notato:  
Imprimis galeam regis tunicamque, trilicem  
Assero loricae fabrorum insigne ferentem,  
Diripe, bina dehinc mediocria scrinia tolle. . . '

And finally, in lines 275-281:

Audisti, quid habere vianti forte necesse est.  
Nunc quo more fugam valeamus inire recludo:  
Postquam septenos Phoebus remeaverit orbes,  
Regi ac reginae satrapis ducibus famulisque  
Sumptu permagno convivia laeta parabo  
Atque omni ingenio potu sepelire studebo,  
Donec nullus erit, qui sentiat hoc quod agendura est.

Hrotsvitha deals with her similar situation as follows (lines 514-526):

Certe dum variis animo foret anxia curis  
 Nullaque spes sibimet certi solaminis esset,  
 Praesul Adelhardus, factum deflexus miserandum  
 Vixque suae damnum carae patiens grave domnae,  
 Illi transmisit missum mox namque secretum,  
 Utque fugam caperet, monitis suasit studiosis,  
 Ac peteret muris urbem structam bene firmis,  
 Quae caput ipsius constabat pontificatus;  
 Hic loca praesidii mandans tutissima certi  
 Illi, condignum quoque praecoeri famulatum.  
 His nam regales monitis pulsantibus aures,  
 Inclita de mandatellis regina benignis  
 Laetior exoptat vinclis absolvier artis.

The flight itself is thus described by Ekkehard (lines 320-321 and 339-357):

Donec vi potus pressi somnoque gravati  
 Passim porticibus sternuntur humotenus omnes.  
 Tunc hastam dextra rapiens clipeumque sinistra  
 Coeperat invisa trepidus decedere terra.  
 Femina duxit equum nonnulla talenta gerentem  
 In manibusque simul virgam tenet ipsa columnam,  
 In qua piscator hamum transponit in undam,  
 Ut cupiens pastum piscis deglutiat hamum.  
 Namque gravatus erat vir maximus undique telis  
 Suspectamque habuit cuncto sibi tempore pugnam.  
 Omni nocte quidem properabant currere, sed cum  
 Prima rubens terris ostendit lumina Phoebeus,  
 In silvis latitare student et opaca requirunt.  
 Sollicitatque metus vel per loca tuta fatigans.  
 In tantumque timor muliebria pectora pulsant,  
 Horreat ut cunctos aurae ventique susurros,  
 Formidans volucres collisos sive racemos.  
 Hinc odium exilii patriaeque amor incubat inde;  
 Vicis diffugiunt, speciosa novalia linquunt,  
 Montibus intonsis cursus ambage recurvos  
 Sectantes: tremulos variant per devia gressus.

Hrotsvitha depicts the flight of Adelheid as follows (lines 545-557):

In qua, dum somnus plebis perserperet artus,  
 Tantum cum sociis regina piissima binis  
 Custodum fraudes fugiens evaserat omnes  
 Atque viae spatium noctis sub tempore tantum  
 Pertransit, plantis quantum valet ergo tenellis.  
 Sed, mox ut scissis cessit nox furva tenebris  
 Atque polus radiis coepit pallescere solis,  
 Abscondens in secretis se cautius antris,  
 Nunc vagat in silvis, latitat nunc denique sulcis  
 Inter maturas cereris crescentis aristas;  
 Donec nox, solitis rediens induta tenebris,  
 Obtegat rursum nebulo terram tenebroso:  
 Tunc iterato viam studuit percurrere coeptam.

Attila's wrath at learning of the escape of Walther and Hiltgund is thus treated by Ekkehard (lines 380-381):

Iam princeps nimia succenditur efferus ira,  
Mutant laetitiam maerentia corda priorem.

Hrotsvitha describes the anger of Beringarius in these words (lines 566-567):

Detulit ad regem Beringarium timidus rem.  
Hic quoque, continuo nimiam conversus in iram. . . .

This is the closest verbal parallel that can be established between Hrotsvitha and Ekkehard.<sup>8</sup>

The fear of Hiltgund is depicted by Ekkehard in lines 351-353, quoted above (In tantum . . .). Hrotsvitha says of Adelheid (lines 576-577):

Sed, licet huc illucque locum percurreret ipsum,  
In quo non parvo iacuit terrore gravata. . . .

It can be said, therefore, that although using several closely parallel situations, especially that of the careful laying of plans, that of nocturnal flight and concealment by day, and that of the extreme anger of the duped captors, Hrotsvitha handles her narrative with a surprising degree of independence, such as we would expect only of an experienced and skillful writer.

In other parts of her writings Hrotsvitha also introduces echoes of Ekkehard's popular *Waltharilied*. I quote those which have come to my attention:

*Waltharilied*, 286: Tum simul occiduas properemus quaerere partes.

*Pelagius*, 12: Partibus occiduis fulsit clarum decus orbis.

*Dionysius*, 116: Quis tunc occiduae partes fuerant male cinctae.

*Dionysius*, 141: Occiduae fines partis festinus adivit.

*Waltharilied*, 94 f.: Obsidibus sumptis Haganone, Hiltgunde puella

Nec non Walthario redierunt pectore laeto.

*Pelagius*, 178: Et laetus rediit patriam victorque revisit.

*Maria*, 658: Ad patriam laeti redeunt, per devia ducti.

*Waltharilied*, 380: Iam princeps nimia succenditur efferus ira.

*Gesta Ottonis*, 722: In Beringarium iusta succenditur ira.<sup>9</sup>

*Waltharilied*, 1077: Quam vita comitante, domum si venero tecum.

*Gesta Ottonis*, 1176: Promittens ipsum, vita comitante, futurum.

No one would accuse Hrotsvitha of undue reliance upon her model in any of these instances. The same may be said of her echoes of Vergil, Terence,<sup>10</sup> Boethius, Prudentius, Sedulius, Venantius, and

<sup>8</sup> The word *maerere* is also used by both (Ekkehard, 381; Hrotsvitha, 536) but in different connections.

<sup>9</sup> See also the reference to *Gesta Ottonis*, 566-67, quoted above.

<sup>10</sup> It has been noted frequently that although Hrotsvitha has adopted certain phrases from Terence in her dramas, her language and treatment are quite independent and not slavishly Terentian.

Alcuin, which von Winterfeld has found and listed in the appropriate places in his edition.

To sum up, Hrotsvitha does not appear to have been a slavish imitator of Ekkehard or any other writer, despite the rather obvious borrowing of a set of situations from Ekkehard and its tempting opportunity to lapse into the easy rhythms and language of the monk of St. Gall. To be sure, Ekkehard, a more pronounced Vergilian than Hrotsvitha, seems to us nowadays, inured as we are to the sonorous Vergilian line, more pleasing in his flow of language than does the rather severe Hrotsvitha, who adheres with greater rigidity to the rules of medieval prosody.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, we must admire Hrotsvitha for her integrity as an independent literary artist and for her skill in maintaining her independence of expression and distinctive personality even amid temptations.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hrotsvitha follows the practices of leonine verse more strictly than Ekkehard does; she studiously avoids synalepha while Ekkehard uses it; she pads her lines with words like *namque*. In general Ekkehard's line produces the effect of greater smoothness.

<sup>12</sup> See also the Flemish article of L. Simons, "Hrotsvitha en Waltharius" in *Verslagen en mededeelingen der kgl. Vlaamsche Akademie voor taal en letterkunde*, 1911. In considering the suspicions against Hrotsvitha's works recently aroused by Zoltán Haraszti (*More Books* [Boston, 1945], XX), we must ask whether Celtes knew the *Waltharilied*. He must have, if he forged the *Gesta Oddonis*. But if he did, it is surprising that he passed over it, for here was precisely the kind of work he was seeking, to raise the prestige of early German literature.

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## MARTIN OPITZ IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

By C. GRANT LOOMIS

The channels of the international communication of ideas were maintained throughout the seventeenth century by the free-flowing use of Latin. The learned men of Europe were mutually well-informed with far less delay in the transmission of their thoughts than is commonly supposed. The largest part of the interchange of intellectual commodities, however, was in the areas of theology, philosophy, and the sciences, and in the compartments of the serious studies of university specialists. Latin poetry and the more purely eloquent literary prose had narrowed to a thin stream in contrast to the vigorous current so much in evidence in the preceding century. Vernacular literature which had begun to flourish so greatly within boundaries moved rather slowly across national frontiers, and, in the case of many of the greatest men of letters, furnished no inspiration at all to fellow-aspirants in other lands. The traffic in the native idioms of Germany and England was extremely small, and such as there was moved mostly from West to East.<sup>1</sup> The movement in the opposite direction was nearly non-existent, save for Jacob Boehme's mystical creations which found contemporary translation into English. Weckherlin spent most of his life in England but published his German poetry on the continent. The muse of Martin Opitz, the father of modern German poetry, stayed at home. Early in his career, Opitz decided deliberately to devote himself to the literary cultivation of his native tongue. This choice, he was well aware, limited the sphere of his influence. The excellence of his Latin style was of sufficient importance to have spread his name abroad and to have enrolled him among the contemporary masters of the international idiom. A hint for the confirmation of this statement appears in a volume which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, has not been listed in Opitz bibliographies. This tome is the *Vitae Selectorum aliquot Virorum qui Doctrina, Dignitate, aut Pietate Inclaruere*, gathered by William Bates.<sup>2</sup> Thirty-two lives or eulogies illustrate the qualifying statements of the book's title and

<sup>1</sup> See Gilbert Waterhouse, *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1914).

<sup>2</sup> London, 1681, pp. ii and 749, small folio. William Bates, D.D. (1625-1699), was called the silver-tongued and was one of the most important of the non-conformist divines of the century. He took part in the negotiations for the return of Charles II and received favors from that monarch (*Dictionary of National Biography* [New York, 1908], I, 1319-20).

include such figures as John Pico Mirandola, Savonarola, Erasmus, Julius Caesar Scaliger, Joseph Scaliger, Grotius, Thomas Bodley, William Camden, and others less well-known. The authors of these effusions include other great names among whom, contemporary with Opitz, are Daniel Heinsius, Gerard Vossius, Friedrich Spanheim, Balthasar Venator (a personal friend of Opitz from his Heidelberg days), Leo Allatius, etc. The contribution of Opitz is the funeral oration which he spoke at the interment of Ulderich, Prince of Denmark.<sup>8</sup> The reputation of this young man is interesting enough for its own sake, if we believe the high praise which Opitz bestows

<sup>8</sup> *Laudatio Funebris, / Memoriae ac honori / serenissimi principis / Ulde-rici / potentiss. Dan. Regis F. / Hæredis Norvagiæ, summi Copiarum Eque-strium / Saxonicarum Præfecti, Duarum Legionum / Ducis, / dicata / a Martino Opitio.* See Bates, pp. 432-45. The opening and the conclusion are: *Inter hæc bella Germaniæ & calamitates inauditas spectaculum atrox nobis exhibitum est nuper . . . magis tamen honore omni ac cultu & grata ad Posteritatem commendatione prosequemur.* See Goedeke, *Grundriß*, III, 47, no. 60, where the oration is indicated as printed at Frankfurt a.M., 1633, 35 pp. Consult further: H. Oesterley, "Bibliographie der Einzeldrucke von Martin Opitz' Gedichten und sonstigen Schriften," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II, 401, where the same edition is mentioned plus the notation: "Die Widmung an König Christian IV. von Dänemark datirt: Anno M.DC.XXXIII Kal. Octobr." The Frankfurt edition was reprinted at Copenhagen the following year. The *Acta Eruditorum*, Anno MDCLXXXII (Leipzig, 1682), pp. 12-13, reviews the contents of Bates's compilation with a mild reproval for not having made a better classification of the materials: *Guilielmus Batesius, utili sane instituto, vitas præstantium aliquot virorum, a diversis autoribus, partim orationibus, partim narratione brevi & epistolis descriptas collegit. . . . Quasi dignitatem virorum respicimus, in tres classes commodè dispescere possumus. Ad primam pertinent Principes ac viri nobiles. . . . Ad secundum classem referimus viros Ecclesiastica dignitate conspicuos. . . . (et) ad tertiam classem spectant viri ob rem literarium maxime celebres.*

Opitz devoted a poem of praise in the vernacular to this same prince. The fuller title represents his relative importance. *An den Durchläuchten/ Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Uldrichen/ Postulirten Administratorem des Stifts Schwerin/ Erben zu Norwegen/ Hertzogen zu Schleswig/ Holstein/ Stormarn und der Ditmarsen/ Graffen zu Oldenburg und Delmenhorst/ Churfürstlichen Sächsischen bestellten Generalen über dero Cavallerie/ und Obristen über ein Regiment zu Roß.* See *Des berühmten Schlesiers Martini Opitii . . . Opera* (Breßlau, 1689), p. 9, 212 lines.

A brief synopsis of the oration is sufficient to show the nature of the funerary laudation: Opitz describes the horror which was caused by the murder of the prince during a truce. The poet is proud but sad that he has been chosen to deliver the oration. The funeral oration is an ancient Roman custom. The area and antiquity of Denmark is well worthy of mention. The poet tells of the prince's ancestry, his education, and his marked intellectual ability. The prince had proven literary ability. His accomplishments must be remembered. He wrote German verses and was familiar with most of the languages of Europe. He excerpted the best poets and imitated them. He studied good books in the midst of campaigns. He did not partake of the wild life engendered by wars, but was sober in all things. The prince's personal appearance was excellent. All his manual skills, knowledge, and accomplishments are worthy of praise. His military leadership was excellent. The cruel assassination stirs the world's horror. Behold the grief of all the members of the prince's family. The cruelty of the war has wrecked Germany. The devastation of Silesia is painful to all. Opitz praises his native land. He recalls the prince's relation to him and quotes a friendly letter from him, written shortly before his death. His name shall live.

upon him.\* However, such lavish laudations are very frequent throughout the poet's century. From the literary historian's point of view, the revelation of Opitz himself to his European readers,

\* History has not dealt so kindly with prince Ulderich (Ulrich) of Denmark as we might expect after reading the praise which Opitz gives him. His name is not even mentioned in the ordinary sources. Indeed, the fullest account about him is Opitz's oration, to which may be added the brief account of the assassination as told by Matthew Merian in his *Theatri Europaei* (Frankfurt a.M., 1644), III, 114-15. It is interesting to note that the same publisher printed the oration.

On the twenty-second of August, 1633, a four weeks' truce was agreed upon at Schweinitz between the imperial and Protestant forces. "Dieser vierwöchige Stillstand ist also gemacht/ daß beyde Generalen Friedland und Arnheimb 400. Schritt vom Schwedischen Läger bey der Schweinitz in freyem Feld zusammen kommen/ und anderthalb stunde lang zu Fuß mit einander geredt/ auch einander die Friedenspuncten uberreicht/ und dessen haben beyderseits Officier/ auff Arnheimbs Seiten der Junge Printz von Dennemarck und Hertzog Frantz Albrecht von Sassen-Lawenburg etc. Auff Käyserlicher seiten aber Herr Graff Schlick und andere gewesen/ auf einer grünen Wiesen Collation gehalten/ hernach wieder von einander geschieden/ jeder seines gegentheils Officiere die Hand gebotten etc. Unter wehrender Handlung hat der Käyserliche Oberste Piccolomini den Jungen Printzen auß Dennemarke zu sich auff ein Gespräch ins Feld gefordert/ da man von mancherley discourirt; als aber der Junge Printz hierauff Abschied genommen/ rufft ihm Piccolomini wider zurück/ sagend: Noch eins/ der Printz aber/ als er sich etwas wendet/ und still hält/ wird er von einem/ so in einem Graben gelegen/ auß einem gezogenen Rohr geschossen/ daß ihm die Kugel zum Rücken hinein/ durch Leber und Lunge/ und zum Bauch wider herauß kommen. Den Thäter hat man nicht wollen herauß geben/ solle deß Obersten Piccolomini Schalcks-Narr/ wie vorgeben/ eygendlich aber sein Jäger gewesen seyn/ und sich darnechst eine gute zeitweil zu Wien aufgehalten."

One more notice of the incident appears on p. 124: "Die Königliche Mayestät zu Dennemarck und Norwegen hat man wegen ihres in Schlesien so jämmerlich und hinderlistig erschossenen Printzens nachfolgendes Schreiben an Herrn Gen. Leutenant Arnheim abgehen lassen/ so dieses Orths wol einzuverleiben/ und lautet also: Christian der Vierde etc. Ehrnvestor und Mannhafter lieber Besonder: Es ist uns schmerzlich zu Hertzen gangen/ als wir auß ewerem anhero gethanen Bericht-Schreiben leyder vernehmen müssen/ das weylend deß Hochwürdigem/ Hochgebornen Fürsten/ unsers freundlichen geliebten Sohns/ Hertzogs Ulrichen E. Gottseligen Gedächtnuß/ durch einen unverhofften Schuß vor kurtzer Zeit verletzet/ und darauff innerhalb wenig Stunden/ auß Gottes Verhängnuß/ gar unzeitiges Todts verblieben. Wir möchten wünschen/ Christlichgedachte S.E. unserm Väterlichen Befehl und ihrer eygnen Söhnlichen Parole gemäß sich verhalten/ und in keines kriegenden Theils Diensten eygentlich eingelassen/ besondern den Krieg/ wie unsere gnädigste Meynung gewesen/ nur auff daß sie darauff etwas reichliches erfahren und erlernen möchten/ wormit sie uns und unserer Cron hernechst heut oder Morgen erspießliche Dienste hätten thun und leysten können/ angesehen hätten. Dieweil aber S. Gottseligen E. wider solchen unsern Väterlichen Willen und Consens/ ein anders beliebt/ und dieselbe sich in deß Churfürsten zu Sachsen E. Diensten begeben/ auch darinn ihr junges Leben Fürstlich geendiget und zugesetzt: so wollen wir uns auch zu hochgedachten S. deß Churfürsten E. sicherlich gelassen und versehen/ daß dieselbe hochselig gedachten unsers Sohns E. als dero selbst gewesenen trewen Diener/ die Ehre thun und erweisen werden/ so in dero gleichen Fällen solchem Cavallier eygnet und gebühret. Wir für unsere Person gedencken S. Gottseligen E. Nachlasses in geringsten nicht zuge-  
nießen. Habens hiemit gnädigst andeuten wollen/ und bleiben euch mit Königlichen beständigen Hülten wol gewogen. Geben in unser Veste Blück-  
statt am 27. Aug. Anno 1633.

particularly the English, is of first interest. In the praise of another, he reveals something about himself, aside from his personal friendship with the great and near-great. The implications of a few lines are worth consideration. The high praise which Opitz proclaims for the prince's literary abilities is an indirect acknowledgment of his own learning. A passage where he vaunts the young ruler's intellectual capacities and particularly his ability to quote from various authors is sufficient evidence: *Recitantem ipsum audivi integra variorum auctorum loca, paginas integras, imperturbato prorsus ac facili ordine, quique ostenderet ipsum non verba minus aliorum in promptu habere quam suum ingenium*. The familiarity of Opitz with Silesian affairs and his praise of his old university (*o flos urbium & mater elegantiae Uratislavia, studiorum meorum desideratissima quies*.—p. 443) locate the author for the readers of the oration. Finally, the respectful address which the prince makes in a letter to Opitz: *Omnes de adventu tuo hic in castro certos feci, doctissime Opiti*, and the modest protest with which Opitz answers in commenting upon the epistle: *Non percurram verba tua, Princeps Piusime, quibus magnitudinem clementissimi affectus erga me tui explicas. Principem de me, lorcatum de toga, inter tubas de literis cogitare, sola divini Genii tui ac dexteritatis insolitae res erat . . .* (p. 444), reveal the learning of the author. The fame of Opitz seems to have reached England in this single oration. His greater fame as a German poet seems to have been altogether unknown.

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## OTFRIDIANA

By DONALD A. MCKENZIE

In reading Otfrid, the student is often perplexed and more often irritated by the Weissenburg monk's unbridled and apparently pointless loquaciousness. An idea which the Vulgate expresses in a dozen words Otfrid may choose to elaborate and round out to fill as many lines. Often the charge of verbosity is just; often, too, however, Otfrid's lyrical additions to the Bible story give us sudden, valuable insights into his naïve, devout, and wondering age.

Certain examples of this characteristic expansiveness, on the other hand, originate neither in native loquaciousness nor in lyric devotion. I refer to passages where the quiet, painstaking *grammaticus* in Otfrid is at work, passages where we can follow our author in his careful and logical (?) analysis of his *Vorlage*. This analytical facet of Otfrid's mentality is, in general, simply taken for granted, mentioned in passing, and dismissed as the self-evident brand of the monastic schoolman; it is neither illustrated nor discussed at length in the literary histories or in the text editions of his poem. And yet the interested reader will find in it the key to Otfrid's whole treatment of his material. It is in such—to be sure often crudely—analytical passages that we can see Otfrid at work, follow the pattern of his thought, and enjoy with him the resolution of the simple theme with which he is occupied.

As samples of passages lending themselves to such minute dissection I have chosen three which illustrate different aspects of Otfrid's working method. In the first we see Otfrid breaking down the original idea into its simplest parts and arranging these parts in an orderly succession. The second gives us an excellent picture of Otfrid at work, his mind toying now with the literal, now with the figurative meaning of his story until he himself is not quite sure where he is. The third passage exemplifies a type of explanatory expansion frequently found in Otfrid, but not always recognized for what it is.

Otfrid's habit of progressing laboriously from word to word of his original is particularly clear when we compare III, 12, 1-4, with its source from Matt. 16, 13:

. . . et interrogabat discipulos suos dicens: quem dicunt  
homines esse filium hominis?

Bigan drúhtin eines rédinon	gisuáso mit then théganon	1
frágeta sie mit minnon	fon then wóroltmannon;	2
Éiscota sie in thráti,	waz thiú wórolt quati,	3
waz sie fon imo redotin	joh wio fon imo zélitin	4

In the first line Otfrid, utilizing the first half of the Latin, *et interrogabat discipulos suos dicens*, renders the Latin as a statement of the setting; this is reasonable as constituting the beginning of a new chapter. In line 2 he anticipates in a general way the nature of this conversation; he translates *interrogabat*, and tells us what Christ asked about, i.e., *homines : wóroltmannon*. Then, in line 3, with, as it were, one eye on *interrogabat* and *homines* Otfrid progresses to *dicunt*, and we have a further unfolding of the narrative: "Christ asked what men *were saying*." Finally he concludes by rendering the last remaining element of the Latin, *filium hominis*, in conjunction with a second and third rendition of *dicunt*. He rounds the quatrain off by a repetition in reverse of the contrast pointed up in line 2; there *Christ* asked about *men*, here *men* speak of *Christ*.

In the following analysis we see how Otfrid unites in his paraphrasing of the Vulgate the method of narrator and commentator. The passage, I, 4, 11-20, renders Luke 1, 8-10:

8. Factum est autem, cum sacerdotio fungeretur in ordine vicis suae ante Deum, 9. secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii, sorte exiit ut incensum poneret, ingressus in templum Domini: 10. et omnis multitudo populi erat orans foris hora incensi.

Zít ward tho giréisot, thaz er giangi furi gót;	11
ópphron er scólta bi thie sino súnta,	12
Zi góte ouh thanne thígiti, thaz er giscówoti	13
then líut, ther gináda tharuze bétota.	14
Thiu hériscáf thes líutes stuant thar úzwertes,	15
sie wárun iro hénti zi gote héffenti;	16
Sinero éregrehti warun thíggenti,	17
tház er ouh gihórti, thaz ther éwarto bati.	18
Íngiang er tho skíoro, góldo garo zíero,	19
mit zínseru in hénti thaz hus róuhenti.	20

Lines 11b, 12, and 13 break down the original Latin: *cum sacerdotio fungeretur in ordine vicis suae ante Deum, secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii*. In 11b the general idea of the Latin is given as *er giangi furi gót*; this is then broken down in 12-13 into two functions, i.e., Zacharias is (1) to make sacrifice, and (2) to pray for the people. Otfrid, to be perfectly clear, explains the *why* of both acts: the priest sacrifices because of his own sins (12b) and prays for the supplicants as they wait outside the temple (13-14). Such an expansion lies in the tradition of commentary; cf. Bede's phrases here: *expectante extra templum omni populo*, and *qui adhuc prae foribus orantes expectant*. Hrabanus comments at this point: *tam pro sua quam populi ignorantia offerens incensum*.

Influenced then perhaps by Bede, Otfrid tells us *quid expectant* in line 14, employing the word *gináda* as a thinly veiled reference

to the meaning of the name Johannes. This idea is repeated four lines later in *éregrehti*.

In his analysis of *sacerdotio fungeretur* . . . , Otfrid has been carried over to the presentation of the people outside (14); this leads him to omit, for the time, a rendering of *ingressus in templum*, and to proceed to Luke 1, 10.

In lines 11, 12, 13, Otfrid is still under the influence of the subjunctive of the Latin *fungeretur*; i.e., he narrates what Zacharias was to do—for himself and for the people. By the time he speaks of the people outside he has come to think of the whole as then really occurring; hence *béitota*. Then he describes the people as they were *hora incensi*: i.e., after Zacharias has, in the Vulgate version, already gone into the church (15-18). Here nothing in the Latin, *et omnis multitudo populi erat orans foris*, requires explanation except *orans*. Just as before Otfrid told us what the people outside were waiting for, he here supplies an object (the same object in idea) for *orans*: namely, *éregrehti* = *gináda* = *gratia* = *Johannes*.

The reason that Otfrid amplifies so much is not, I believe, solely the reason given by Erdmann, i.e., that Hebrew custom may be made clear. Rather it is that Otfrid is instinctively so conscious of the symbolical force of this whole tableau of the Vulgate. He has not yet, in this earliest section of his work, launched into his practice of adding *Mystice* and he has difficulty in separating the situation from its mystical meaning. He knows that the answer to the prayer will be the advent of Johannes (and Christ); hence the importance given the etymology of *Johannes* = *gratia*, and so forth. Cf. Bede at this point: *mysterium pandens Jesum ostendit pontificem esse verum . . . qui coeli secreta subiit, ut propitium nobis faceret Patrem, et interpellaret pro peccatis eorum qui adhuc prae foribus orantes expectant et diligunt adventum ejus*. Thus in Otfrid's narrative we see interwoven literal and symbolical comments.

At the conclusion of line 18 Otfrid discovers that he has overshot his mark; he has arrived in the Latin at *apparuit angelus*, Luke 1, 11; and as he reads over what he has written, he is not sure whether Zacharias is in the church or out of it. The subjunctives of lines 11-13 didn't really bring Zacharias into church, yet the people are presented as they were after his entrance. Therefore Otfrid returns in lines 19-20 to render the portion of the Vulgate omitted when he was led by the interpretation of *sacerdotio fungeretur* to the *multitudo*: namely, *ingressus in templum* and *ut poneret incensum*.

From such an analysis it becomes clear how the narrator and the commentator in Otfrid grappled with the material to be presented, how now one is uppermost and now the other; we see the extent to which for him and for the clerics of his age the *real* was imbued and shot through with the presence of the *symbol*.

The third and final passage we should like to examine, IV, 2, 1-6, is based on John 12, 1:

Jesus . . . ante sex dies paschae venit Bethaniam, ubi Lazarus fuerat mortuus, quem suscitavit Jesus.

Tho drúhtin thaz giméinta,	er thesa wórolt heilta,	1
then ménnisgon in nóti	ouh tho ginádoti;	2
So er thára iz tho bibráhta	thaz sih thiú zít náhta,	3
er únsih tho gidrósti,	fon fíanton irlósti:	4
Séhs dagon fora thiú	quám er zi Bethániu,	5
thar er fon tóthe irwáhta,	Lázarum irquicta.	6

Comparing the Latin with Otfrid's rendition, we are struck by the disparity of treatment accorded the various ideas in the Latin. The elements most important for us, i.e., *venit Bethaniam, ubi Lazarus fuerat mortuus, quem suscitavit Jesus*, Otfrid renders with admirable brevity in a line and a half. Here, certainly, was opportunity for him to be expansive if he were moved only by the whim of imagination. On the other hand he devotes four lines and a half to the simple temporal idea *ante sex dies paschae*. Must this be credited to ineptitude on Otfrid's part? Or is the reason for his dwelling on this idea to be sought in his interpretation of the original? Is he merely "rendering" his original, or is he bent on "explaining" it? What, then, in the Latin might need explanation?

Quite apart from any interest he had to show his erudition by introducing Bede's comment, Otfrid must expatiate on the time element in order to forestall any misunderstanding on the reader's part as to *which pascha* is meant. The yearly feast of the Passover referred to here is not just *any* Passover, but *the* Passover which was to be sanctified by Christ's death for man. It is this fact of the proximity of the Crucifixion and Resurrection which the Latin slights and about which the reader must be enlightened.

Viewed thus, Otfrid's rendition is sound and to the point. The reader is acquainted with the fact and locale of Lazarus' resurrection (III, 23-24); what must be clarified is the significance of the Latin's brief *ante sex dies paschae*. Otfrid is led to do what he does by the obscurity he finds in the original; in this instance he can hardly be accused of indulging a whim.

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## REVIEWS

*Charlemagne and Roland: A Study of the Source of Two Middle English Metrical Romances, "Roland and Vernagu" and "Otuel and Roland."* By RONALD N. WALPOLE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 21, No. 6, 1944. Pp. 385-452. Seventy-five cents.

It is not often today that a student of medieval literature finds a text, accessible and complete, that provides the perfect answer to a source seeker's prayer. Long ago Gaston Paris divined the existence of a cyclic compilation about Charlemagne behind the two English stanzaic romances, the fourteenth-century *Roland and Vernagu* (RV) and the fifteenth-century *Otuel and Roland* (OR), though of the latter he knew only a summary. In 1935, after the rediscovery of the very Fillingham Manuscript on which that summary was based, Miss O'Sullivan, in her edition of *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland* (E.E.T.S., 198), was able to prove the truth of the French scholar's inspired intuition about the relationship of RV and OR and to conclude that the last half of OR had been derived, not from the Latin, but from a French version of the famous Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle concerning Charlemagne's wars in Spain. Today Dr. Walpole has the satisfaction of bringing to light this supposedly lost French source. He finds it represented in a thirteenth-century manuscript now known as Brit. Mus. Add. MS 40142. This was copied from a redaction made in 1206 for Renaud, Count of Boulogne, by a scribe who fused together the Old French translation of the Pseudo-Turpin by an otherwise unknown Johannis and an abbreviated form of the Old French translation by Pierre de Beauvais of the amazing *Descriptio* of Charlemagne's visit to the East, a text which, like the Pseudo-Turpin, had originally been written in Latin in the twelfth century. The resultant *Estoire de Charlemagne*, a title which Dr. Walpole uses only once (p. 400) but which seems preferable to that "Johannis-Turpin" by which he regularly refers to this Johannis-plus-condensed-*Descriptio* version, still survives in eighteen manuscripts. It was distinctive in the way it condensed, sometimes transposed, sometimes added to or omitted its Latin source materials. With pleasing precision Dr. Walpole traces the reappearance of these characteristic traits in the two English poems as well as the often "almost literal concordances," in nomenclature and phraseology, between them and this Old French redaction. Of particular interest is his synopsis (p. 402) of the French passage concerning Charlemagne's acquisition of the Passion relics of Christ. Unquestionably this was the source of the parallel passage in RV, even though the ignorant English translator did turn the Frenchman's simile about Aaron's rod into a holy relic itself!

Two of Dr. Walpole's minor conclusions may be questioned. Though he accepts my own theory (*PMLA*, LVII [1942], 595 ff.) of the professional London bookshop which produced the Auchinleck MS and its RV, and also, as he believes, the source of the Fillingham OR, he would attribute (p. 432) the English translation behind them both to a "churchman" and explain their only important innovations, changes in the order of events, as due to minstrels after the translation had become "their common property." This is to forget that in early fourteenth-century England piety still paid better than secularity; so rough and ready a verse translation of the ecclesiastical legend of Charlemagne is far more likely to have been a hack's job than a cleric's. It is also to forget that much intervention by minstrels would have left very little of that close fidelity to the French source which these English texts exhibit.

In conclusion it should be said that two of Dr. Walpole's chapters, "Carolingian Romance in France and England," and "The Evolution of the Charlemagne and Roland Cycle in England," constitute the most recent general survey of the subject and are thoroughly well-informed.

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*The Vogue of Marmontel on the German Stage.* By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1944. Pp. 27-124. \$1.00.

Marmontel is known mainly as the author of the *Mémoires* and the *Contes Moraux*. Yet most of his works have been of considerable influence on the German stage. Professor Price has made a careful study of the works of this French author in Germany. His investigation is a valuable addition to the studies by Max Freund and G. O. Schmid, who, while mentioning some dramatizations, did not consider those based on other works than the *Contes*. Professor Price includes those based on operettas and novels as well. He covers dramatizations of eleven *Contes*, six operettas, and two novels.

Professor Price's method is a systematic, well-documented discussion of the works of Marmontel as they appeared on the German stage, beginning with *Heureusement* (1763), and ending with *La Femme comme il y en a peu* (1780). On the other hand, the author concedes that the vogue of Marmontel lasted well beyond this year. The first chapter is given to a detailed discussion of the life and works of Marmontel, the condition of the German stage during the second half of the eighteenth century, and the existing bibliography on the subject. Under Part II, "The Plays in Review," the author gives a synopsis of the original plays, lists the various dramatizations,

discusses their reception in Germany, and adds the schedules of performances. *Zémire et Azor*, an operatic dramatization of the story of Beauty and the Beast, appears to have had more success than any other play. However, after a few decades Marmontel vanished again from the German stage. Professor Price explains this temporary success as due to the prevailing vogue of sentimental plays on the German stage during the second half of the eighteenth century. The last two chapters are devoted to a refutation of Marmontel's alleged authorship of a number of dramatizations, and to more data on performances. In the first of two tables the author demonstrates that among the works adapted for the German stage the majority appeared as operettas, a few as comedies, and some as both operettas and comedies. The second table serves to prove Marmontel's popularity in Germany through a comparison of the number of performances of his plays with the number of those by Lessing, Goethe, and Shakespeare, as recorded for the year 1776. The reader will perhaps be startled to learn that the total of Marmontelian plays nearly equaled the total of performances of plays by the other three authors. The reviewer was impressed with the diffusion of the plays even to the smallest theatres of northern Germany, such as Rostock, Schwerin, Güstrow, Stralsund, and Schwedt.

The author concludes his investigation with an interesting account of Goethe's relationship to Marmontel, a study which will be welcome to Goethe scholars. The whole subject is admirably handled; its bibliographical references, tables, and its index are well organized. A misprint, "Ruhrkomödien," was noticed. A few comparisons of German passages with the original French texts would have been interesting. In general, this is a penetrating and stimulating study which every student of eighteenth-century German literature will enjoy reading.

FRITZ L. COHN

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*The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico.* Translated from the Italian by MAX HAROLD FISCH and THOMAS GODDARD BERGIN. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1944. Pp. ix + 240. \$2.50.

Under the punning sign of the cornel or dogwood, *Cornus florida*, appears the first American book devoted to Vico himself, and the first translation of the *Autobiography* into English. Without duplicating the important work of the British authors, R. Flint (1884) and H. P. Adams (1935), this agreeable volume reviews Vico's life and principal ideas, then passes skillfully through an illuminating discussion of his reputation and influence, in a section which contains the book's chief claim to consideration as an original work of scholarship. The last half of the volume is devoted to the trans-

lated *Life*, the annotations of the entire work, a synoptic table of his life and times, and the index.

The *Vita* was written in three sections at different times, and was completed in 1818 by Villarosa. It offers exceptional difficulties to the translators, who have to reduce a complicated formal periodic style by means of paraphrases and simplifications to the direct manner preferred by the modern reader. On the whole, Messrs. Fisch and Bergin have succeeded in rendering the sense of it, but here and there the curious reader regrets the absence of the original text from the opposite pages in the manner of the Loeb Classics. The qualities and defects of the *Vita* have often been pointed out; the English version intensifies the impression that the author was almost stifled under the manners and traditions of the age and country in which he lived. The nuggets of wisdom which reveal something of his spirit to us are buried deep in conventionality, not only of language but of thought, so that only utmost patience will uncover them.

Reading of the introduction suggests some of the reasons why Vico has made so slight an impression on the English-speaking public. In his own way he contributed to the schism, which is now generally (if not always understandingly) deplored, between the humanist tradition and the natural sciences. He was a humanist, though of an older, more rigidly systematic breed; his incapacity to profit from geometry (p. 123), or from physics, and his inability to comprehend scientific procedures—see his astonishing speculations on fire and magnetism, pp. 149-50—suggest that while the *Scienza Nuova* may be new, some would deem it a science only by courtesy. Vico may perhaps, as Mr. Fisch declares (p. 60), "put the sciences in their place by swallowing them up in history," but one may doubt if this Jonah will stay swallowed. One hesitates to suggest that Vico is overrated in this modest and unassuming book, but the curve of his fortunes, not only in Italy, but perhaps particularly in Britain, where he seems to have been unknown for a century, indicates perhaps not so much that those who knew him failed to mention him, as that the ideas he represents were more widely held, and more accessible, than the Vichians think possible. Thus the fifteen British authors from Blackwell to Burke mentioned on p. 82 could indicate the existence of a parallel tradition of thought quite innocent of contact with Vico, or at most regarding him as a contemporary whose views were like their own and not in any way unusual. The obscurity of his own thought, its awkward and difficult style, was unlikely to affect an age that sought pungent lucidity in the expression of ideas, preferring the style of Montesquieu or Voltaire and the plain manner of Locke to the ornaments of even a Shaftesbury.

But except for the possible slight tendency of the editors to overrate their author's influence, the chapter on Vico's contacts with subsequent thinkers is the most rewarding and original in the book. It emphasizes the element of continuity which brings the romantic harvest out of the apparently sterile fields of the Enlightenment,

and offers many suggestions for further exploration, such for instance as the thought that perhaps some of the stimulants which Tennyson and Hugo offered to another generation may have been drawn from Neapolitan cellars. The belated vogue that Vico's work enjoyed in the nineteenth century makes one wonder whether the height of his influence has not already passed with the reduction of historical studies to the various scientific disciplines suggested in Renan's letter to Berthelot of 1863. It is difficult to take the burlesque of his thought in *Finnegans Wake* as other than a cousin of Rabelais' treatment of Arthurian material in the *Cinquième Livre*; and very few modern liberals are likely to be taken in by the uncritical fatuities of another Spengler. Vico remains a monument to a certain moment in the evolution of ideas, and his work is certain to afford scholars important clues to the developments which led to the ideologues and the romantics, even as Marx and Mussolini pass further into history.

A few comments on details may not be out of place here. P. 36: Such a sentence as "the greatest critic of Descartes was himself the greatest Cartesian of Italy" seems obscure until one realizes that the authors refer to Vico himself, and not to Pascal, Gassendi, or Hobbes. P. 52: In the context, the "dialectical opposition of the classes" is obscure; do the authors mean "dialectal"? P. 73: The quotation from Galvani is undated, and no source is given. P. 82: Allegorical engravings were very common as frontispieces for works of popular philosophy—cf. Charron's *Sagesse* (1601); the *Second Characters* remained in MS until published by B. Rand in 1914, so doubtless Mr. Fisch refers to the engravings which adorn the *Characteristicks*. P. 95: The titles of R. Flint's two books on the history of the philosophy of history are given neither in the text nor in the notes. P. 147: If H. Brenckman was really Dutch, he would hardly like to have his name spelled "Heinrich."

HARCOURT BROWN

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*The Origin of the Grail Legend.* By ARTHUR C. L. BROWN. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1943. Pp. viii + 476. \$5.00.

*The Origin of the Grail Legend*, by Arthur C. L. Brown, professor emeritus of English, Northwestern University, is the result of an effort to discover the ultimate sources of the various medieval versions of the legend of the Holy Grail and other supernatural material scattered through the romances and lays of the *matière de Bretagne*. Before discussing the main body of evidence, the author expresses his conviction that (1) the "marvelous episodes" found in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes were not the invention of the

poet; (2) they did not come from Germanic mythology; (3) they owe little to Classical sources; (4) even in the treatment of love between the sexes, where Classical or Arabic parallels are striking, such parallels have "little bearing on the developed doctrine as it appears in the romances"; (5) evidence of Oriental sources so far adduced is unconvincing; and (6) the Grail story, connected though it is with "the chief service of the Christian church," originated in "some pagan mythology where love-making was no sin." Professor Brown also appears to believe that stories about Arthur existed before the time of Geoffrey's *Historia*, and that "Arthur's adventures, as related by Chrétien, must take place after the battle of Camlan and after he has gone to Avalon" (on which latter contention, see Tatlock, *MP*, XXXI, 1 ff.; Loomis, *MP*, XXXVIII, 293).

Professor Brown finds the most satisfactory explanation of the other-world material in the *matière de Bretagne* in Celtic, especially Irish, sources, basing his array of evidence upon the hypothesis that "it was natural for Frenchmen to turn to Ireland and to Irish intermediaries, Welshmen and Bretons, for good stories." Frankly, admitting that "the resemblance between ancient Irish stories and episodes in Chrétien's romances is not close enough to impress the casual reader," he proceeds to give a carefully presented analysis of Irish and French writings motive by motive in such a fashion as to be intelligible to even reasonably well-informed non-technical readers. His analysis reveals, "both in the Irish and in Chrétien, a pattern or scenario of a Journey to Fairyland that recurs again and again."

In its general method Professor Brown's study does not differ greatly from other efforts of pro-Celtic Arthurian scholars to solve the problem proposed; yet, considered in matters of detail, his monograph is unique. Few, if any, other Arthurian scholars whose work is known to this reviewer give evidence in their writings of such minute knowledge of the two broad and difficult fields of medieval romance and early Celtic civilization. There are competent scholars in the field of romance, and there are competent scholars in the field of Celtic, but those who have attempted to cover both fields since the days of Heinrich Zimmer usually have been forced by ignorance of one or the other to depend largely upon secondhand or incomplete evidence. Professor Brown brings to his task a long and thorough training as a Celticist and a wide acquaintance with medieval romance, both in Old French and other vernaculars. His *Origin of the Grail Legend* is the latest of a long series of articles and monographs dealing with many aspects of the Celtic hypothesis, beginning with his well-known dissertation on *Yvain* in 1903. Whatever objections Celtophobiacs may have to Professor Brown's results, all well-informed medievalists must acknowledge that his book is a monument of completeness and scholarly accuracy in the presentation of the evidence. One of its chief claims to respectful consideration lies in the fact that the author, unlike some Celticists and many Arthurian scholars, recognizes the importance of bringing together all versions of a Celtic story before dogmatizing as to its original character. The existence of the volume is justified,

if on no other grounds, by the analysis (Chapter II) of twenty Irish and Welsh journeys to Fairyland.

The task of picking flaws in so useful a book as Professor Brown's is petty and ungracious. Most of the possible objections are chargeable to errors in judgment from which few Arthurian scholars are entirely free: the almost irresistible temptation to construct one hypothesis upon another, to support folk-lore parallels by means of doubtful etymologies, or to reconstruct an ancient Celtic pantheon from a confusion of learned writings such as the early Irish chronicles and sagas. It is, for example, possible that "a community of tradition and saga going back to heathen times existed between the Irish and the Welsh," but the evidence so far discovered hardly bears out such a generalization. There is, as Professor Brown shows, abundant evidence that the grail is derived from a Celtic "plenty-giving object" somewhat like the *criol* of Queen Medb (p. 421); yet the force of the evidence is hardly increased by the doubtful hypothesis that O.F. *graal* is derived from I. *criol* (cf. Nitze, *MP*, XIII, 681 ff.). The array of parallels between "the battles of King Arthur and his knights against outlandish foes in the romances" on the one hand and the wars between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomorians on the other is hardly strengthened by combining it with the questionable thesis that the *Cath Maige Tured* and the *Leabhar Gabala* represent "a tale of strife between gods and giants." In view of our gradual recognition of the large part played by learned etymologizing, allegorical myth-making, burlesquing, and pure fooling in the composition of early Irish documents, we are hardly safe in building much on the hypothesis that Brión, Iuchar, and Iucharba, Mc Cuill, Mac Cecht, and Mac Greine, the "three Fothads," and other triads of personages in early Irish are reminiscences of a trinity of gods or of one god in three forms.

To lengthen the above list of tentative criticisms would be a thankless undertaking, since to do so would in no way militate against the fundamental value of Professor Brown's book as the most extensive, detailed, and accurate collection of Irish parallels to Arthurian romance so far published. *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus. Qui sine peccato est primus lapidem mittat.*

TOM PEETE CROSS

University of Chicago

*Albumazar: A Comedy [1615]*, by Thomas Tomkis. Edited by HUGH G. DICK. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in English, Vol. 13, 1944. Pp. x + 218. \$2.00.

It is axiomatic that the excellence of an edition may be in inverse proportion to the worth of the thing edited. Certainly this is the case with Mr. Dick's able edition of Thomas Tomkis' *Albumazar* [1615],

an academic comedy possessed of little intrinsic merit and obscure enough even in its own day. Believing that a primary reason for interest in the play is its place in the anti-astrological literature of the early seventeenth century, the editor gives a major part of his Introduction to a survey of the controversy about astrology since earliest Christian times. The usefulness of his account, as a short lucid analysis, well documented and well proportioned, is not much impaired by recent publication of more detailed studies in the same field by Allen and Thorndike. On the biographical side, Mr. Dick has succeeded in identifying Tomkis as the son of a Shrewsbury preacher, turning up some details about the family background, and tracing the playwright's attendance through Shrewsbury school and Cambridge. All this is new material garnered, in part, from local records. Other portions of the Introduction deal with date of composition, stage history, and staging. Establishment of a text did not offer much difficulty. The edition reprints Q1, which gives a clear and correct text. Variants, mostly of a minor nature, in the other three quartos are listed. Explanatory notes on the meaning of lines are complete, well distributed, and scholarly. The whole is a thoroughly competent job of editing, deserving, one may suggest, of weightier problems and more significant literary material.

PAUL H. KOCHER

*University of Washington*

*Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele.* Edited by RAE BLANCHARD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944. Pp. xvii + 663. \$5.50.

The comparative obscurity of Steele as a pamphleteer can be explained only in part by the fact that his comedies and essays have overshadowed his other works. The truth is that in an age in which some of the best pens in England were devoted to political journalism Steele does not rise above the general level of controversial effectiveness or even of readability. Nevertheless, in collecting his tracts and pamphlets into an admirably edited volume, Professor Blanchard has done a vast service to students of history, of journalism, and of Steele himself.

Throughout his career Steele adhered undeviatingly to both the Whig party and its principles, his loyalty being all the more conspicuous because of the shifts in allegiance which took place all about him. His political opinions were dominated from beginning to end by the principles of the Revolution Settlement. *The Christian Hero*, which appears first in Miss Blanchard's volume, ends in a glowing eulogy of King William as a kind of modern St. George, who has delivered England from the dragon of despotism. The great preponderance of the specifically political tracts is explained by their concern with two constitutional questions: whether the exiled Stuarts

should be permitted to overthrow the legally established succession; and whether the House of Lords should become an instrument for nullifying the power of the Commons, in the interest of either the Crown or the aristocracy. Without striking any heroic attitudes, Steele appears again and again as a jealous defender of liberty, as the term was then understood, and a consistent upholder of the constitution as a guarantee against absolutism. When he argues in favor of septennial as opposed to triennial parliaments, he shows signs of putting party concerns first. In general, however, he argues the Whig case clearly and fairly on principle, depending little on the conventional scurrilities of controversy. Thus his writings are particularly enlightening as a statement of the Whig position on current political matters.

The publication of Steele's tracts and pamphlets serves also to emphasize his key position in the history of English journalism. The succession of essay periodicals, beginning with *The Tatler*, which he edited and helped to write, is enough to establish Steele's originality, shrewdness, and literary competence without the aid of Miss Blanchard's volume. The works which she collects, however, throw interesting light on his losing struggle to keep politics out of his periodical essays. The fragmentary answer of "Isaac Bickerstaffe Esq. to Pasquin," which she publishes for the first time, suggests the temptations under which Steele worked while editing *The Tatler*, and foreshadows the evolution from *The Guardian* to *The Englishman*. Meanwhile he was becoming more and more involved in political pamphleteering, a pursuit which he did not abandon until a few years before his death. He also entered cheerfully into controversies involving Dr. Woodward and the English textile industry, besides starting a small flurry of his own with his fish-pool invention.

With these varied performances before her, along with a detailed knowledge of the background of each pamphlet, Miss Blanchard must have been tempted to introduce into her commentary more journalistic history than she has done. It would have been interesting, for example, to link Steele's attacks on *The True Briton* in *Pasquin* (1723) with his row with *The Examiner* (1713 and 1714) by pointing out that the Duke of Wharton's chief writer on *The True Briton* was William Oldisworth, formerly of *The Examiner*. Since Oldisworth had justified Steele's earlier charges of Jacobitism by fighting for the Pretender at Preston, Steele must have felt particular relish in this resumption of hostilities on the old question. On the whole, the editor has permitted herself few excursions of this sort. She has restricted her introductions to brief and illuminating analyses of the occasion, content, and significance of the tracts themselves.

The assembling of these varied writings invites a reinterpretation of the character of their author. Although their level of literary excellence is not high, they bear constant witness to Steele's freedom from egotism, his intellectual honesty, and his political courage. The extravagant oratory of *The Englishman's Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough* fails to conceal a strain of thoughtful admiration in Steele's

hero-worship, an admiration more temperately expressed in a passage in *The Crisis*. At his best, for example in the pamphlet on the Schism Act, he writes shrewdly and incisively. Always he has the disarming air of having nothing up his sleeve, of valuing his personal integrity above political victory, of attacking contemporary problems, to borrow a phrase from *The Importance of Dunkirk Consider'd*, "with as much Vigour and Chearfulness" as he is able. In this volume, for the first time, important materials for studying such a literary personality are presented in a textually accurate and beautifully readable form.

ROBERT J. ALLEN

*Williams College*

*Letters of Dora Wordsworth*. Edited with an Introduction by HOWARD P. VINCENT. Chicago: Packard and Company, 1944. Pp. ix + 98. \$2.00.

The greatest affliction of Wordsworth's life, wrote his biographer thirty years ago, fell upon him when he lost his much beloved daughter. He never recovered from the blow. For many years her lively, happy disposition had been the brightest element in the poet's numerous but ailing household. "She had known how to play with him and make him cheerful against his will. Her accomplishments and graces, her charm and beauty, had perhaps formed the chief tie which bound him to this life" (G. M. Harper, *William Wordsworth* [New York, 1916], II, 431-32).

This was Dora Wordsworth. From the time of her birth in 1804 to her death in 1847, she was "a living staff" upon which the aging poet at Rydal Mount came to lean more and more. At first he got simple pleasure from observing her childish acts. She is the "frail, feeble Monthling" of the *Address* to her, and she is the baby laughing in his arms in *The Kitten and the Falling Leaves*. Later she became his second Dorothy. She was his amanuensis. She was his eye among books and fields when his own eyes failed, as they did so often after 1816. A half dozen poems are addressed to her or concern her. Some others were suggested by her household pets, of which she was extremely fond. So much did Wordsworth dote on Dora that there is still a quarrel over how much his disapproval of her proposed marriage was honest doubt concerning the religion and the financial state of the man in question (Edward Quillinan) and how much was stubbornness, even selfishness. Anyway, he refused for about a year to give his approval. It was doubtless true that he could not easily think of being without her. She preceded him to the grave by three years, and when Wordsworth himself lay dying, he was comforted by being told that he was going to Dora. In his very last moments, when someone moved about the death room, he murmured, "Is that Dora?"

In the bulky published correspondence of the Wordsworth family, only a few letters written by Dora are to be found. In the archives of

the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, however, lie thirty odd letters from her to her bosom friend Maria Jane Jewsbury, literary sister of the better known nineteenth-century novelist, Geraldine Jewsbury. These are now edited and printed for the first time by Mr. Howard P. Vincent and appear along with a few closely related letters by Dorothy Wordsworth and by her father the poet, making a total of thirty-six in the volume under review. A few are replies of Miss Jewsbury.

In these charmingly unstudied expressions of an exuberant and affectionate young woman we have over-the-shoulder glimpses of life at Rydal Mount from May, 1825, to July, 1832, glimpses of a bustling and hospitable home that was not only a home but a center of creative activity and a literary shrine. They span the period in which Wordsworth composed the second Skylark poem, *Scorn Not the Sonnet, To the Cuckoo*, and the *Yarrow Revisited* poems. They reveal a multitude of little things of inevitable interest to the student of Wordsworth: the quarrel with Murray the publisher, the quarrel with Reynolds over whether *The Keepsake* should have exclusive rights among the annuals to print Wordsworth's poems, summer visitors who at times crowded the house so that members of the family were forced to sleep elsewhere (Sir Walter Scott, "the pleasantest creature I ever met," Wilson, Lockhart, Landor, and a stream of members of the Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth families). There is much concerning sickness and health, with the former unfortunately predominating. There are delightful trivia of domestic life: much about Dora's pets, especially Miss Jewsbury's gifts of doves and goldfish, much about visits made and visits planned, "tours" taken, a request for bobbins and another piece of black silk from Manchester, chatter about Wordsworth's latest verses, love of the north country in contrast to "soireeing" in the city, epidemics of influenza and cholera, her father's railing at the "stupid Reform bill—which is driving him mad," her father well but for his eyes, or sitting for his portrait, or just "trumpery old Daddy brisk and fat and well busy *verse making* as possible,"—and always more callers.

Professor Vincent has added a pleasing page to Wordsworthiana, and not without difficulties. He declares that the practice of cross-hatching has made the work of transcription trying, and indeed several important words have been lost through illegibility. The editor has wisely chosen not to clutter his text with frequent use of "sic," yet one wishes he had normalized the punctuation, or rather provided punctuation, especially end stops, where Dora has hurried guilelessly along. Also one regrets that more explication of the text is not furnished. "B—," for example, in "Father's best thanks for B— I hope you have seen the No. in which he is likened unto a Methodist Parson" (p. 25), is presumably "*Blackwood's*," but we should like to know. Similarly, when Wordsworth himself writes to Miss Jewsbury, "I am glad you like the Triad" (p. 52), it would add to our feeling for these letters if it were revealed that *The Triad* was a poem of 218 lines, first published in *The Keepsake* and containing eighty-

five lines describing Dora. Several readings appear to be misreadings or errors not caught in proof, but even if they are Dora's misspellings, they jar the senses so unnecessarily that the reader's pleasure is marred and his mind teased at moments. Thus "Scantum" (p. 23) seems intended for "Sanctum"; "Editor" Southey (p. 28) is clearly intended to be "Edith"; "taring" (p. 82) makes sense only if it were to read "tarrying"; "invitated" (p. 24) is obviously "invited"; and "The Loves of the Poets" needs identifying. It is also regrettable that no index, so useful in a book of this kind, is provided.

Though these annoy, they do not prevent the reader from enjoying *Letters of Dora Wordsworth*.

WILLARD H. BONNER

University of Buffalo

*A Romantic View of Poetry*. By JOSEPH WARREN BEACH. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944. Pp. 133. \$2.00.

A prodigious amount of reading and thinking has gone into Professor Joseph Warren Beach's slim new book, *A Romantic View of Poetry*, made up of lectures given at the Johns Hopkins University on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in November, 1941. For his illustrative material the author ranges from poet to painter, novelist, and philosopher, from Aristotle to Freud, from Plato to Croce, from Chaucer to Eliot, and his comments are always illuminating. On the negative side, the argument opposes the views of More and Babbitt, the "New Humanists," and of critics like Allen Tate and John Crowe Ransome, though they are not named; on the positive, it affirms what the author calls the Romantic view, a belief in the need of having "some positive ideal of good," not a dogma based "on mere prohibitions and inhibitions," a recognition of the importance of the emotions, a view of poetry as a "form of living," not a thing by itself separate from life.

More and more frequently, it seems to me, one encounters critics who deprecate "historicism, scientism, psychologism, biologism," in literary studies and who affirm their belief, to quote from Allen Tate, in "a radical discontinuity between the physical and the spiritual realms." This, as these critics intend it to do, denies the truth of a great body of psychological and psychosomatic information accumulated in the past fifty years; and here, then, is an issue of importance not only to literary criticism but to modern thinking generally. One of the many admirable features of Mr. Beach's book is his profound recognition of the need of making use of every available body of information and technique in solving the complicated problems of scholarship and criticism. In addition to providing a number of philosophical and purely literary discussions of great interest, Mr. Beach gives illuminating psychological interpretations of such various

figures as Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Meredith, and rightly does not exclude the possibility that much may yet be learned by a study of the physiological bases of esthetic psychology.

The author's recognition of the important role of the unconscious mind both in life generally and in the creation of literature is quite in line not only with the findings of psychologists, but, one may note, with the convictions of innumerable artists, writers, scholars, and critics. Even Winnie the Pooh, a poet of sorts, said, "It is the best way to write poetry, letting things come." I do not believe that Professor H. W. Garrod and Robert Bridges would object to such company; at least their testimony is to the same effect. "It is not, I think, to put it too high," Mr. Garrod said in his book *The Study of Poetry*, "if I say that three-fourths of life lies in this mystery of the unconscious." And Robert Bridges added a note to his delightful brochure *The Necessity of Poetry*, pointing out that "any artist who has got into trouble with his work will put it aside, and wait for a subconscious solution." Numerous quotations indicating the predominant importance of the unconscious appear in F. C. Prescott's *The Poetic Mind*.

The lectures which make up *A Romantic View of Poetry* are broad in scope, alert, and thoroughly enjoyable. If any fault is to be found with the book, it may be that more emphasis might have been put upon the value of literature as a social record (in the broadest sense) and a social force. Also, as a student of Keats's life and works, I might question whether the approach to the *Ode on Melancholy* as "conceived in terms of what the seventeenth century called wit" is the most profitable approach, and whether it is well to consider *Lamia* without reference to Keats's attitude toward Fanny Brawne. But a writer cannot include everything, and the author has included so much that it seems ungrateful to ask for still more.

In regard to the value of poetry to the world, the essential point seems to me this, that poetry says what cannot be said in any other way and is the most complete means of expression. Remove poetry from a course of study, and you remove the fullest literary manifestations of human nature. The words of men take poetic form for a reason, and for the same reason the study of poetry, when properly carried on, may be of great and unique value. But this, after all, is only another way of expressing the point of Mr. Beach's *Romantic View*.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS

University of Minnesota

*Edwin Arlington Robinson and His Manuscripts.* By ESTHER WILLARD BATES. Waterville, Maine: Colby College Library, 1944. Pp. iv + 35. \$2.00.

In an engaging 32-page memoir, an essay first delivered as an address at Colby College, in 1943, Esther Bates has made a distinct

addition to the too scanty scholarly data about Edwin Arlington Robinson.

This is not a "scholarly" book. Yet it is consistently, if obliquely, revelatory of the enigmatic poet, hence valuable for the Robinson specialist, as well as for the general reader. Based on many years of contact with Robinson, if it does not conclusively answer some inevitable critical problems, it does provide "leads" which are more than usually suggestive.

In genial reminiscence, Miss Bates, who, after 1913, was Robinson's chief Peterborough typist, furnishes a partial record of the evolution of many of Robinson's most noted poems. Incidentally, she provides some significant side lights on the *man* who was the poet. This is perhaps the greatest value of the book; for Miss Bates is one of the diminishing few who knew the recluse poet with any degree of intimacy.

Thus Robinson appears often here as his own reflector: he evaluates himself as "perhaps two hundred years in advance of his time"; he comments upon contemporary art and artists; upon his own interest in "failures"; upon women; upon his "pessimism." There are noteworthy details of his methods of composition and revision, and of his abortive attempts at playwriting. Briefly, Robinson, the taciturn and oblique, emerges here with breadth and humanity.

One regrets that the book takes little account of chronology—there are few dates given for the letters. But it is a welcome and authoritative addition to Robinsoniana. Its very modesty is no small part of its charm, and certainly no fair indication of its value.

LOUISE DAUNER

*State University of Iowa*

*Goethe and the Greeks.* By HUMPHRY TREVELYAN. Cambridge: University Press, 1941; New York: Macmillan, 1942. Pp. xvi + 321. \$3.75.

This publication, in the author's own words, seeks to give "a coherent chronological account of the stages by which Goethe gained knowledge and understanding of Greece" (p. xi). To that end Trevelyan uses a microscopic technique in establishing the scope of the poet's acquaintance with Greek things before the Italian journey. In his last three chapters, however, the author is more selective, noting principally those works and remarks which illuminate Goethe's conception "of the nature and value of the Greek heritage" (p. xi).

The chief value of such a study lies, of course, in its ordered arrangement of known facts. Although the field has been plowed more than once, notably in ponderous fashion by Ernst Maass (*Goethe und die Antike*, Leipzig, 1912), and most recently in the brilliant, if

dithyrambic, work of Walther Rehm (*Griechentum und Goethezeit*, Leipzig, 1936), Trevelyan is justified in his endeavors, since he addresses himself chiefly to a larger, English-speaking public. The author, though, no less than his predecessors, has the orientation of the Classicist, or at least of the devotee of Greek culture. He brings to his task a far greater acquaintance with Greece, apparently, than with the character and art of Goethe. This leads him inevitably, as we shall see, to certain judgments inconsistent with the facts.

Prefacing his monograph with a brief summary of the early stages whereby Germany attained some insight into the unique nature of Greek civilization, the author stresses then the state of German knowledge and thought in the eighteenth century as concerned the methods used in teaching the ancient classics, the evaluation of Greek plastic art and mythology, and the "Querelle des anciens et des modernes." He notes, especially, the influence of Boileau on Gottsched, who—through ignorance of the things he discussed—parroted the strongly rationalistic interpretation of his master. Two of the main factors involved in preparing the way for the revelations of Winckelmann and Herder were the impact of Fénelon's *Télémaque* on German criticism in the period around 1740 and the efforts of Breitingen to show the necessarily imaginative basis of Homeric poetry.

Despite the lack of a vital interest in Greece in his parental home, Goethe, even as a schoolboy, manifested a curiosity of mind as to the ancients, pursued in desultory fashion New Testament Greek, and occupied himself sketchily with Greek history and mythology. A short time later—before he went to Leipzig—the young poet sought to acquire a general view of Greek philosophy and literature through the medium of contemporary treatises.

So strong was the student's determination to study the Classics at Leipzig that he resolved to defy his father's wish that he apply himself to the law. While he had finally to give in, perforce, to his elder, Goethe began under the influence of Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechen* and the tutelage of Oeser to speculate on the uniqueness of Greek plastic art. His growing conviction that the Greeks created perennially beautiful statues was strengthened through his visit to the famous Mannheim collection of antiquities.

With Strassburg came Herder and a new vision of the genius of Homer and Pindar. The pseudo-classicism of Wieland now proved insufficient—even ridiculous—to a Goethe who had come to see in the symbolic figures of Greek mythology eternal prototypes of creative man's struggles with the forces of opposition. Although it is doubtless true that Homer taught Goethe much about human and physical nature, it is great over-simplification of the latter's literary art to maintain as Trevelyan does (p. 79): "From such knowledge then he wrote his *Goetz*, *Werther*, *Prometheus* and *Faust*." In essence, one must add, these works partake far more of the elemental experiences of the poet than of any literary influences. Outside impressions but confirmed his inner convictions. Indeed, during the same time Goethe was interested in such un-Greek themes as

Rousseau, Ossian, and Hans Sachs. The author is led astray, too (p. 82), in seeing in the figure of Bromius (*Wandrer's Sturmlied*) something more than a symbol for the "outer glow" that Goethe's contemporaries substituted in the artistic process for the "Innre Glut" of poetic inspiration. Trevelyan is sound, though, in assuming that for Goethe the Greeks had as yet no absolute value.

In Weimar, Homer, as the author affirms, aided Charlotte von Stein in quieting the storm in Goethe's soul. So complete was the victory of the former "Stürmer und Dränger" over extreme sentimentality that he could pillory the emotionalism of *Werther* in *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* (1777-1778). This inner change, though, was the result of a complex of experiences and responsibilities (cf. *Ilmenau*); Homer was certainly but one of many factors involved. Spinoza played a major role in this connection. Here, again, Trevelyan's myopic devotion to Greece blurs his vision of Goethe's development.

Greek plastic art continued in these Weimar years to engross the poet's attention. He had come by now, the author maintains, to realize the monumental quality of their works of sculpture and to see in them representations of the ideal human form. But that the prose *Iphigenie* shows Goethe "trying to re-create in words his vision of the Hellenic man" (p. 95) is not supported by any appreciable evidence. Garb and imagined landscape are there, to be sure, but the central characters are not Greek in essence. Rather, as Ernst Jockers, most recently, has pointed out (*Soziale Polarität in Goethes Klassik* [Philadelphia, 1942], p. 13), *Iphigenie's* character is fed by the springs of Christian ethics and mirrors most clearly the ennobling influences of Charlotte von Stein. Indeed, a few pages later, Trevelyan himself admits that at this stage Goethe found the Greeks lacking in an adequate portrayal of the "Good and the True," and that his *Elpenor* was to end, like *Iphigenie*, in a victory for the new (Christian) morality.

Italy brought Goethe the opportunity to see for the first time artistic monuments of Greek civilization and to experience (in Sicily) the Homeric landscape. He renewed, too, his study of Winckelmann and read finally the latter's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. That Goethe for a time seemed to succumb to the pagan morality (*Römische Elegien*) is certainly true, but the fact remains that of the literary fruits of these years only *Nausikaa*, the above-mentioned *Elegien*, and the *Venezianische Epigramme* seem to represent a surrender to the spirit of Greece—as the poet understood it. It is, thus, quite inconsistent to maintain that Italy brought an end to the "ten years' aberration towards a Christian-ethical interpretation of the world . . ." (p. 169), inasmuch as in the final version of *Iphigenie*, in *Tasso*, and in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (which was growing in Goethe during all this time) the conflicts are resolved still in a manner fundamentally unlike that of the Greeks. Such a figure as Natalie, and even Leonore von Este, could not have grown on Greek soil. Thus it would appear that an acceptance on the poet's part of a belief in instinctive behavior was exceptional rather than typical. Indeed, *Hermann und*

*Dorothea*, the "crown" of Goethe's Hellenism, although nourished to a considerable extent by Homer, ends with the affirmation of faith in the Christian social order. Against this evidence in the chief *completed works*, Goethe's experiments with Greek forms and ideals in *Achilleis*, *Alexis und Dora*, and *Helena* do not loom up as large as Trevelyan seems to think. Even Faust's experience of the monumental nature of Greek life and art through the medium of Helena became (in the completed drama) but one stage, and not the final one, in the hero's progress towards the recognition of an ultimate choice in human existence between egoism and altruism.

During his last years Goethe's Greek studies were but one of the many facets of his nature. While he never deserted his belief in the perennial, normative beauty of Grecian art and literature, nevertheless he opened his mind—and his heart—to many other realms of human endeavor. But that he did not depart far from his faith in an "edle Humanität" nourished by a Christian ethical sense can be best demonstrated by the figure of Ottilie and the wisdom of Makarie. For he was truly a Nordic and reflective being who lived in the midst of his times and was not unaware of the distinct limitations of any attempted purely esthetic solution to the problems he and his fellows faced.

Although Trevelyan's work lacks proportion in its stress on the central significance of the Greeks for Goethe's development, it makes a contribution to the generally cultivated through its lucid and convenient arrangement of the pertinent facts concerning the poet's occupation with a civilization he admired very greatly. A "Date Chart," a short treatment of Goethe's theory and practice in writing hexameters, and an index of names and works discussed add to its usefulness. The brief bibliography contains the important items. A reference to a "critic" listed as "Sauer, Minor" was the only slip I noticed.

This monograph, printed tastefully in wartime England, despite its faults may be placed—with a word of caution—in the hands of critical students. For Germanists it will have little enduring value.

WILLIAM J. MULLOY

*University of California, Los Angeles*

*The Vatnsdalers' Saga*. Translated by GWYN JONES. Princeton: Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1944. Pp. 158. \$2.00.

The *Vatnsdæla Saga* is a typical Icelandic "family saga," dealing not so much with the exploits of an individual hero as with the history of a noble race from the time of their settlement in Iceland down through several generations. It contains a number of passages of great antiquarian interest and is fairly entertaining, but cannot be classed with the best sagas artistically because it lacks homoge-

neity in substance and inner form. This may account for the fact that no complete translation has appeared until now. I doubt that the one here spoken of will win many new friends for saga literature; for though good, on the whole, a pity that it is not better!

We may as well realize, once for all, that no thoroughly satisfactory translation of sagas will be made till the principle is firmly grasped that they are written in an easy, high-level, conversational and narrative style—neither in the Wardour Street style, loaded with archaisms, of William Morris, nor in the vulgarian style considered proper by Thorstein Veblen, nor either in the bluff “hearty” style interlarded with provincialisms, which seems the recent fashion and toward which Jones leans. No, saga style is always dignified, refined (though never prissy), and natural with the ease of instinctive good manners. Hence there is strong objection to such words and turns, found in this translation, as: “stick-in-the-mud” for *heimaelsskr* (fond of staying at home); “those days” for “in those days”; “it’s no good you riding rough-shod over men” for “it will never do for you to ride, etc.”; “a lot of lousy thralls” for “ill-conditioned thralls” (*illskubraelar*); “filth that you are” for “wretch that you are” (*illmenn*); “stumped” for “at a loss”; “a lot of croaking” for “accusations”; “clear off for the desert” for “go to desert lands”; “your dad’s friendship” for “your father’s friendship”; “in that desperate fix” for “plight”; “out the window” for “out of the window”; and to such provincialisms and archaisms as “give over” for “stop”; “he went his own gate” instead of “way”; “cursed thralls as they were” instead of “that they were”; “to lout” for “to bow”; “ghyll” for “ravine”; “to howe” for “to inter in a burial mound.” Still more objection is there to such Scandinavisms as “go creeping under one’s beard” for “to toady to one.” I shall not dwell on outright mistranslations, of which there are not a few.

For his Introduction the translator leans rather heavily on Vogt’s—also in his failure to discern the *fornaldarsaga* elements of the earlier chapters. There are some good informative notes; but where Jones strikes out for himself, either he goes wide of the mark (as in the one on *svanbeygja*) or adds what is irrelevant (as the extensive quotation from *Völsunga Saga*).

LEE M. HOLLANDER

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- Draper, John W. *The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1945. Pp. 126. \$2.00.
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- Kirschbaum, Leo. *The True Text of King Lear*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945. Pp. x + 81. \$1.75.
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- Malkiel, Yakov. *The Derivation of Hispanic fealdad(e), fieldad(e), and frialdad(e)*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publi-

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- Flower, Robin. The Western Island, or The Great Basket. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. vi + 138. \$2.50.
- Granville-Barker, Harley. The Use of the Drama. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. vi + 91. \$1.50.

## COMMENT

The following communication has been received from Professor August Closs of the University of Bristol, relative to the review of his *Tristan und Isolde: A Poem by Gottfried von Strassburg*, published in Vol. 6, No. 1 (March, 1945).

I was delighted when I read the appreciative word about my "Tristan," written by C. F. Bayerschmidt. But I should be most grateful if two important points which seemed to have escaped the critic could be put right. I don't understand why he says, as to V. Michels' *Mittelhoch-deutsches Elementarbuch*: "It is surprising that his excellent and well-documented grammar has not been used in the present edition," although I do mention the very book explicitly in my "Tristan" at least three times: pp. 95, 113, 182!

As to *genesen*, I thought that my Glossary made it absolutely clear that there is no confusion of the forms *genesen*: *geniezen*, but I agree that the Note without the Glossary might perhaps at first sight be misleading.

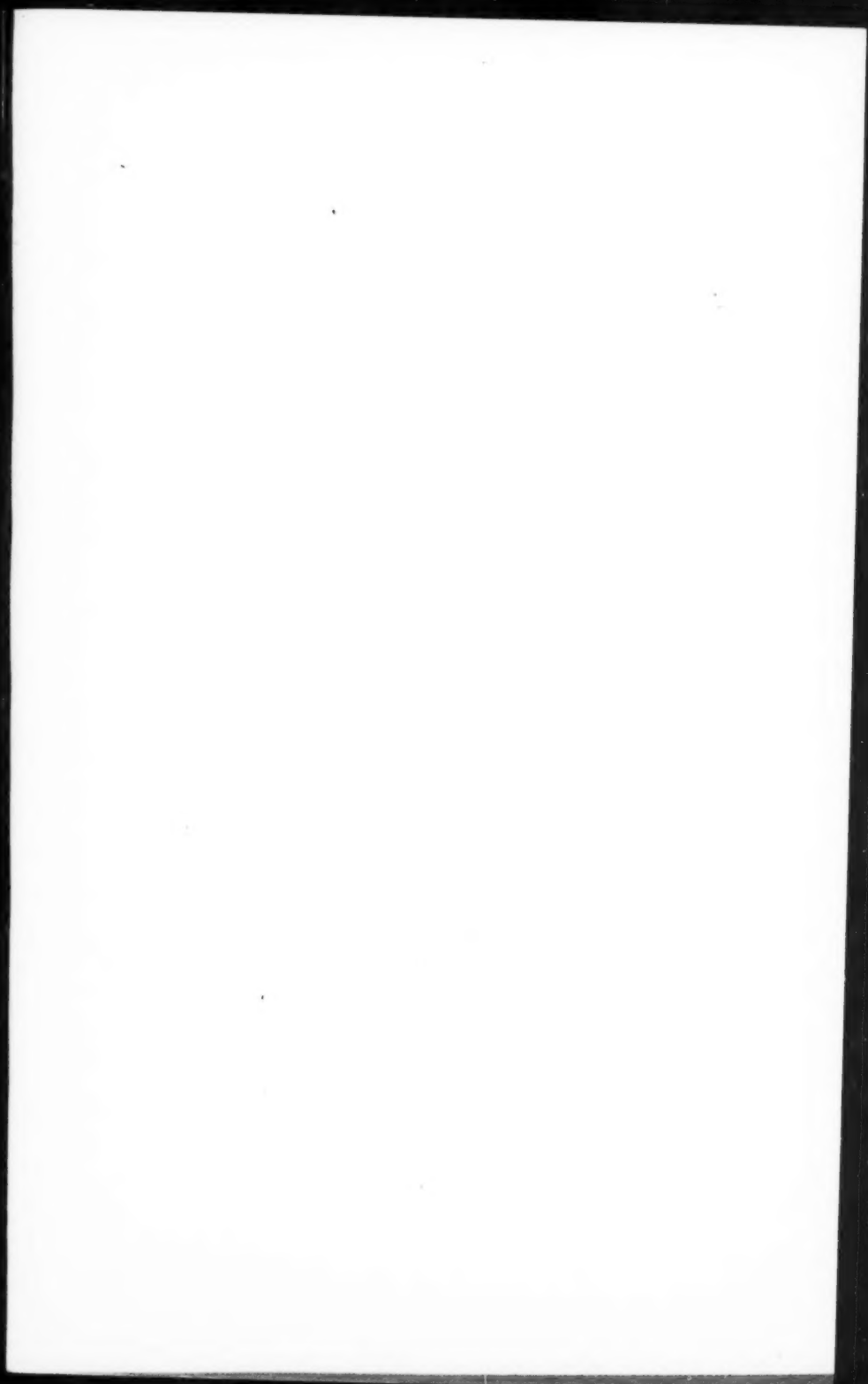
It is the first point mentioned above, however, which is really a matter of concern to me, as it might cause readers to imagine that I had left out Michels' important work which is naturally indispensable to a study of medieval texts.

A. CLOSS

\* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.







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